DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 230 347 RC 014 073

AUTHOR Benally, Clyde; And Others
TITLE A Utah Navajo History = Dineji Nakee' Naahane'
INSTITUTION San Juan School District, Monticello, UT.
SPONS AGENCY Utah State Board of Education, Salt Lake City.; Weber State Coll., Ogden, Utah.
PUB DATE 82
NOTE 193p.
PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *American Indian Culture; American Indian Education; *American Indian History; American Indian Literature; American Indian Reservations; American Indians; *Cultural Exchange; Folk Culture; Illustrations; *Land Settlement; Leaders; Life Style; Maps; *Racial Relations; *Social History; Treaties; Tribes
IDENTIFIERS Apache (Tribe); *Navajo (Nation); New Mexico; Pueblo (People); Songs; Spaniards; Utah

ABSTRACT

This book presents Navajo history in two aspects--traditional stories that describe the ancestors of the Navajo and explain how the Earth-Surface World was changed from monster-filled chaos into the well-ordered world of today, and historical events from 1525 to today after the Navajos had settled in the Southwest. Events described include settlement in the Four Corners region, first encounter and war with the Spaniards, the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, 4 years of peace among tribes and the Spaniards, cultural exchange with the Pueblo and Spaniards, effects of the Mexican Revolution, and slave trade. Events occurring with western settlement were intrusion of the United States Army into New Mexico; confusion and conflict with the new government and Indian affairs of New Mexico; death of Narbona, a Navajo leader of peace; signing of the Washington treaty; leadership under Manuelito, a Navajo leader; Kit Carson's campaign to imprison Navajos and Apaches; the Long Walk to Bosque Redondo, which served as a reservation; life at Ft. Sumner; the Long Walk back to Navajoland; rebirth of Navajo country; expansion of the Navajo reservation; and the coming of traders. Recent events involving Navajos include livestock reduction, the New Deal Plan, formation of tribal government, and education of Navajo children. The Treaty of 1868 with the United States is appended. (ERB)

DINÉJÍ NÁKÉÉ' NÁÁHANE'
A UTAH NAVAJO HISTORY

by

Clyde Benally

with

Andrew O. Wiget, John R. Alley,

and Garry Blake

A Project of the San Juan
School District
Monticello, Utah

Printed by
University of Utah Printing Service
Salt Lake City, Utah
U.S.A.

Cover: This design is adapted from a sandpainting of Blue Corn People with Pollen Boy and Cornbug Guardians by Miguelito. It appears in Franc J. Newcomb and Gladys A. Reichard, *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937), figure 10, p. 66, and is reprinted by permission of the publisher.

CONTENTS

NAVAJO SONGS IN THE TEXT

1 "You say there were no people . . ." from "6. There Are No People Song" in Hasteen Klah, *Navajo Creation Myth. The Story of the Emergence*, recorded by Mary C. Wheelwright (Santa Fe, Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, copyright 1942), pp. 135-36. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

2 "The first man holds it in his hands . . ." from "1 Song of the Sun and Moon," in Hasteen Klah, *Navajo Creation Myth. The Story of the Emergence*, recorded by Mary C. Wheelwright (Santa Fe, Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, copyright 1942), p. 133. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

3 "All kinds of horses lead up to her and go beyond . . ," from "Racing Song #1," told by Blue Moon, in Charlotte Johnson Frisbie, *Kinaaldá. A Study of the Navajo Girl's Puberty Ceremony* (Middletown, Conn. copyright (©) Wesleyan University, 1967), pp. 267-68. Reprinted by permission of Wesleyan University Press.

4 "Darkness is coming along . . ." from "Prayer of the Twelve Person Group," told by Slim Curly, in Leland C. Wyman, *Blessingway* (Tucson. University of Arizona Press, copyright 1970), p. 167. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

5 "At the back of my house . . ." from "Talking God Song #25," told by Frank Mitchell, in Charlotte Johnson Frisbie, *Kinaaldá. A Study of the Navajo Girl's Puberty Ceremony* (Middletown, Conn. copyright (©) Wesleyan University, 1967), pp. 188. Reprinted by permission of Wesleyan University Press.

6 "Now with Monster Slayer I Come . . ." adapted from Washington Matthews, "The Navajo Origin Legend," in *Navajo Legends* (Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin and Co. for the American Folklore Society, 1897), pp. 132, 265.

7 "Place-whence-they-came looms up . . ." from "Free Translation. First Song of the First Dancers" in Washington Matthews, *The Mountain Chant. A Navajo Ceremony*, Bureau of American Ethnology, 5th annual report (Washington. Government Printing Office, 1887) p. 457, no. 200.

8 "Young man this day I gave you . . ." from "The Myth of Beautyway Female Branch," told by Wilito Wilson, recorded by Maud Oakes, in Leland C. Wyman, ed., *Beautyway. A Navajo Ceremonial*, Bollingen Series LIII. Copyright (©) 1957 by Princeton University Press. Selection, pp. 141-42, reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

9 "Tse'gihi. House made of the dawn . . ." from "A Prayer of the Fourth Day of the Night Chant," in Washington Matthews, *Navajo Myths, Prayers, and Songs, with Texts and Translations*, ed. Pliny Early Goddard, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 5, no. 2 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1907), p. 54.

10. "My grandchild, where, I wonder, has he gone . . ." from "Upward-return-prayer," in Leland C. Wyman, *The Windways of the Navajo* (Colorado Springs. Taylor Museum, copyright 1962), pp. 173-74. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

11. "This way, across the red snake . . ." from "Upward-return-prayer," in Leland C. Wyman, *The Windways of the Navajo* (Colorado Springs. Taylor Museum, copyright 1962), p. 175. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

12 "Now at last you have returned . . ," from "Upward-return-prayer" in Leland C. Wyman, *The Windways of the Navajo* (Colorado Springs. Taylor Museum, copyright 1962), pp. 178-79. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

13 "Getting up, getting up is to be . . ." Reprinted from "52. Concerning the Restoration of Buffalo Woman [A]" in *Origin Legend of the Navajo Flintway. Text and Translation*, text and translation by Fr Berard Haile, University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology, Linguistic Series, p. 197, by permission of the University of Chicago Press. Copyright 1943 by the University of Chicago.

14 "The corn grows up . . ." from Washington Matthews, "Songs of Sequence of the Navajos," *Journal of American Folklore* 7, no. 26 (1894): 191.

15 "Since the ancient days . . ." from Washington Matthews, "Song of Sequence of the Navajos," *Journal of American Folklore* 7, no. 26 (1894): 192.

16. "*at ne ya* . . at dawn I go about . . ." from version 1, told by Slim Curly, in Leland C. Wyman, *Blessingway* (Tucson University of Arizona Press, copyright 1970), p. 325. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

17. "Thus happily you accomplish your tasks . . ." from Washington Matthews, *The Night Chant: A Navajo Ceremony*, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 6 (May 1902): 144-45.

MAPS

ILLUSTRATIONS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many individuals and institutions contributed to this project. Funding for research and development was provided by the General Assistance Center at Weber State College, Ogden, Utah, and by the Utah State Board of Education. The Utah Navajo Development Council and the San Juan School District also gave support.

Without the assistance of many Navajos, this would have been an impossible undertaking. Those who shared their time, expertise, and advice include Kitty Atene, Hugh Benally, Mary Jelly, Eddie Nakai, James Nakai, Lillian Nakai, Oshley Navajo, the board of the Utah Navajo Development Council, and the staff of the Navajo Tribal Museum at Window Rock. The project also drew on the contributions of Navajos who earlier recorded interviews that are available in the Navajo Tribal Archives. Among those who shared their memories and knowledge with interviewers are Can't See Anderson, Ashiihi Lichii Bitsii or Ines Neschu, Ashiihi Ts'oosi, Atsitty Atsosie Begay, Clara Attakai, Ina Attakai, Joe Attakai, Baa'Yazhi or Little Warrior Woman, Asdzaan Bahi or Grey Woman, Charley Begay, Indy Begay, Tom Beletso, Louise Big Mouth, Bilin Dodjaadi or Slow Horse, Bilin Tłizhini, Hastiin Billy, Hastiin Binalibahi or Gray Eyes, Bit'iis Biye' or Son of Man with Cottonwood Trees, Mary Bitsili or Old Lady Sweet Water, Bitsi Chilly Begay, Hastiin Bitsi Ligai or White Hair, Harvey Black, Black Whiskers or Sam Lee Littlemen, Charlie Boy, Asdzaan Chii'i or Red, Hastiin Clau, Benny Claw, Ben Curley, Daaghaa' Ntsaaźi or Large Whiskers, Daaghaa Tso Biyi' or Mustache Boy, Daaghaa' Ts'oosi or Slim Whiskers, Dagaa Yassie or Short Mustache, Desbaa or Warrior Woman, Deschuu Biye or Si Hicks, Dick's Sister, Dine łiił or Navajo Sand, Dineh Ligai Bitsily or Brother of Light Complexioned Man, Dohaa' hi or Jack Slowtalker, Elva Fat, Martha Fisher, Paul Goodman, Haawoohi Biye', John Hart also known as John Rockwell, Jim Harvey, Lucy Harvey, Gene Hatatley or Yellow Hat, Bucko Haycock, Mariano Herrero, Dave Holiday, Asdzaan Hooyani or Wise Woman, Mary Jelly, Paul Jones, Scotty Jones, Keh-ha-na-pah or Peaceful War Woman, Kitsihi'i or Small Boy, Sani Kinlichiinii, Kit'sili or Old Ruins, Maggie Lefthand, Yellow Lefthand, Tom Lefty, Hastiin Łanłikai or White Horse Man, Little Wagon, Little Wagon's Wife, John Lowe, Millie Luther, Hastiin Mark, Fay Lane Martin, George Martin, Sr., Jim Mike, Louise Mitchell, Naatoni Bitsi Sleepy, Nakai Asdzaan or Mexican Woman, Eddie Nakai, Ben Nakaidine'e, Daniel Nakaidine'e, Naol Nishi or Worker, Hattie Nepah, Asdzaan Nez, Hastiin Nez Begay or Son of Tall Man, Hastiin Nez Biye', Haakeh Nezin or Ashley Navajo, Nii'yazhi, Clyde Peshlakai, Frank Pierce, Sally Red House, Ethel Robbins, John Samson (Yazhi), Mrs. Billy Sawyer, Dan Schenally, Hastiin Shantoh, Pat Shortfinger, Silaao Tsoh or Big Policeman, Slim Eltsosie, Mary Slim Whiskers, Aggie Endischee Smallcanyon, Hastiin Sneak, George Stevens, Ruth W. Talker, Paul Tallman, Tall Whiskers, Asdzaan Kinlichiinii Thompson, Hastiin Tobtitsutizi or People Lying Down at Spring, Slim Todescheene, Hastiin Toh Tłizhini Bitsi' or Granddaughter Black Water, Joe Toledo, Sr., Tsegi'niitsoh or Big Canyon Near, Tse'yitin Yazhi Biye' or Old Man Small Canyon, Alvin Tsi'naajini, Joe John Tsi-naajini, Tsi'naajini Yazhi, Curley Tso, Hastiin Tsoh or Large Man, Asdzaan Ts'oosi, John Walker, Mary Whitehorse, White Sheep, Jesus Arviso Willeto, Joe Williams, Hastiin Whooshini, Manson C. Yazzie, Asdzaan Yoontside or Big Round Woman, and Yoo-ootsosii or Slim Bead. The wealth of information provided by these Navajos has added greatly to the text.

Experts from many fields generously offered their assistance and advice. Among those whose efforts merit special recognition are the members of the San Juan County School Board, Superintendents Kenneth Maughn and Donald Jack, Lynn Lee, and D. Melvin Walker, all of the San Juan School District, Dr. Walter Talbot, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Lucille Echohawk, T. Joe Sandoval, and Dr. William Cowan of the Utah State Board of Education. Dr. Robert W. Delaney and the Center of Southwest Studies at Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado, Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins of the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives at Santa Fe, and Dr. J. Lee Correll of the Navajo Tribal Museum at Window Rock, Arizona, also deserve recognition for their valuable contributions. James Kindred provided assistance with the pronunciation and transcription of Navajo words. Dr. Harold Handley and Dr. Richard Keene served as evaluators.

Throughout the project, Dr. Floyd A. O'Neil, Associate Director of the American West Center, University of Utah, provided direction and advice. With Clyde Benally, he designed the project and coordinated the research efforts. Under his direction, the staff of the American West Center participated in the preparation of the manuscript. Working with Clyde Benally and Dr. O'Neil, John R. Alley, Dennis R. Defa, Gregory C. Thompson, and Andrew O. Wiget did the initial research on which this text is based, and Ron Holt and John R. Alley indexed the documents gathered for the project. With Clyde Benally, three staff members prepared the first drafts of the manuscript. Andrew O. Wiget (chapters one through five, and twelve), John R. Alley (chapters six

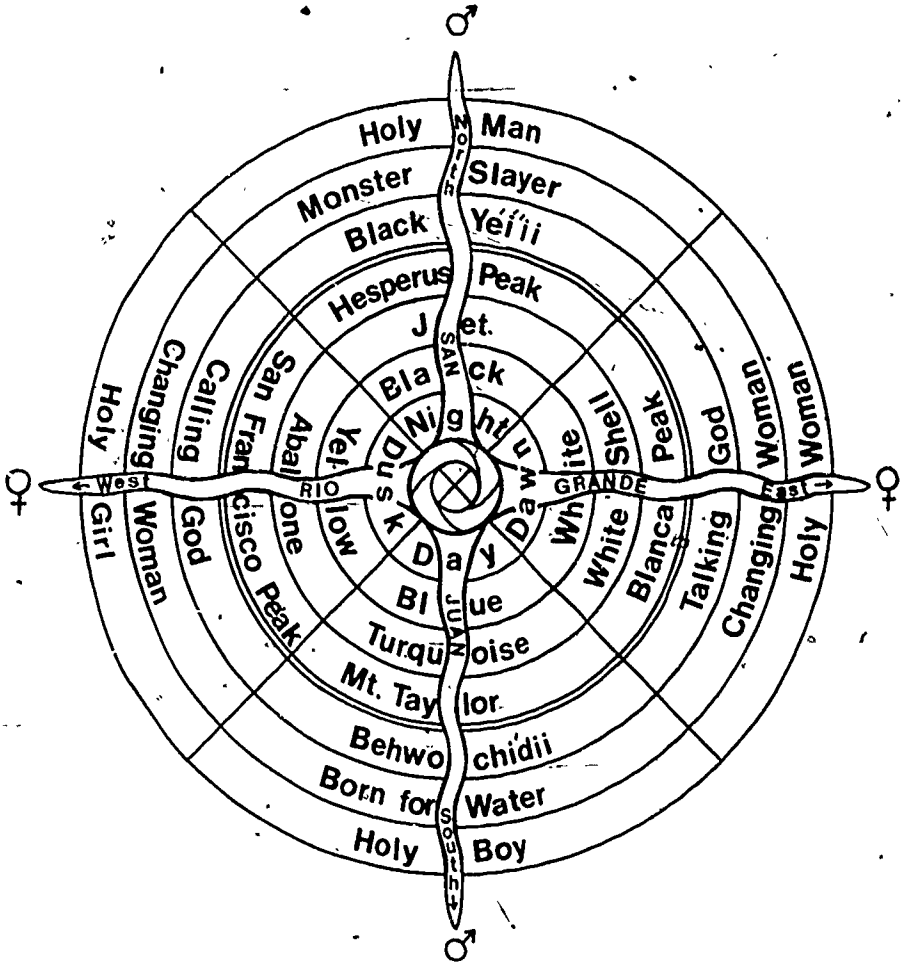
through eight, and eleven), and Garry Blake (chapters nine, ten, and eleven). The manuscript was then revised and edited by Clyde Benally, Dr. O'Neil, Andrew O. Wiget, and John R. Alley, with the patient assistance of June K. Lyman in grade-leveling the text and preparing it for school use. Final editing and proofreading was done by Laura Bayer. K. Shannon Hogg prepared the initial renderings of the cover design and, with Shelby Baespflug, the maps and chapter-head illustrations. Cathy Patillo revised the maps and illustrations for the text.

Staff members at the following archives generously offered their time and assistance: the Brigham Young University Library, the Federal Records Centers at Denver, Colorado, and Kansas City, Missouri; Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado; the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; the Library of Congress and its Map Division; the Marriott Library, University of Utah, the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York; the National Archives, Washington, D.C.; the Navajo Tribal Museum at Window Rock, Arizona; the New York Public Library, the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives; and the University of New Mexico Library. In addition, materials from the holdings of the American West Center and from the private collection of its director, Dr. S. Lyman Tyler, were made available for the project.

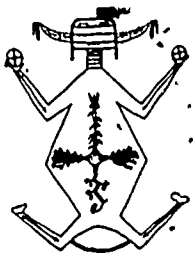
Photographs were provided by the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society Library; the Kansas City Federal Records Center, the Library of the State Historical Society of Colorado; the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the National Archives, the Research Section, Parks and Recreation, Navajo Tribe, the SMC Cartographic Section, Concho, Oklahoma; and the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

Finally, we are indebted to the publishers who graciously granted permission to reprint previously published Navajo songs, photographs, and the sandpainting that appears as the cover design: J. J. Augustin (cover illustration), Princeton University (song 8); Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center (songs 10, 11, and 12); University of Arizona Press (songs 4 and 16); University of California Press (song 9), University of Chicago Press (song 13); Wesleyan University Press (songs 3 and 5), and the Wheelwright Museum (songs 1 and 2, and the photographs of the Red Antway Ceremony). Full citations for these materials are provided in the captions and the list of songs above.

To all of those who made the undertaking possible and whose efforts enriched the results, thanks are gratefully extended.



NAVAJO SYMBOLIC ASSOCIATIONS



I. HAJÍÍNEÍ: INTO THE GLITTERING WORLD

Traditional Navajo History – An Introduction

Navajo history begins with stories of the past (nakéé' nááhane'), which tell of events from the time of the Emergence to the present. Most of the stories outlined here come from the beautiful ceremonial chants. They describe the ancestors of the People and explain how the Earth-Surface World was changed from monster-filled chaos into the well-ordered world of today. The stories have two main purposes. First, they tell how the People, with their own special heritage, came to be, and, second, they explain how the Twins won sacred power for the People.

The Navajo world is a world filled with sacred power. By itself this power neither helps nor harms man. But it can be used for different purposes through the chant ceremonies. Holy Way chants, such as Hail Way and Beauty Way, use this power to heal. Evil Way chants, such as Upward-Reaching Way and Enemy Way, use it to repel ill-used sacred power or to purify the patient. Life Way chants, such as Flint Way, restore wholeness to a severely injured person. Blessing Way, in a class by itself, gives good fortune throughout life.

This sacred power is represented by a number of beings who are called Yéí'ii. The most important of these are Talking God (Haashch'ééh yalti'i), Calling God (Haashch'ééh hoghan), and the Black Yéí'ii (Haashch'ééh zhiin). Others, like the Male Yéí'ii (Haashch'ééh bika'), the Female Yéí'ii (Haashch'ééh bi'ád), the Shooting Yéí'ii (Haashch'ééh olt'o'ó), and the Red Yéí'ii (Haashch'ééh shchíí'), are helpful to man at times. Other helpful Yéí'ii are the Fringe Mouth Yéí'ii (Dzahodoolzhahii), the Humpback Yéí'ii (Ghą́ą'ask'idii), the Whipper Yéí'ii (Hadiłtsxisii), and Water Sprinkler (Tónenilii). The Sun, too, at least after testing the Twins, is generally helpful to man. As a group, these beings are called Holy People (Diyin Dine'é). The First Family of Changing Woman is also part of this group. Monster Slayer and Born For Water, with their other forms (Holy

Man and Holy Boy), and Holy Woman and Holy Girl make up this family.

Some beings, such as the Monsters (Naayé'), are opposed to man. Others are at least very difficult to please. These include the Great Snake (Tl'iish tsoh), the Great Bear (Shash tsoh), the Thunders (Ii'ni), and the Winds (Níyol).

Big Fly (Dọ' tsoh) and Bat (Jãa'abání) are doorguards for Bear and Snake. They can also carry messages among the Yéí'ii and sometimes from the Yéí'ii to the Twins. Most often, though, messages to the Twins come from Little Wind or Spirit Wind (Níyol biyázhi). Little Wind works like a combination of conscience and intuition.

These beings have both an inner, or spirit, form and an outer, or physical, form. The outer form may change from time to time as needed, but the inner form never changes. So, despite his many outer forms, Monster Slayer may be called simply Elder Brother. Likewise, all the names of Born For Water (Holy Boy, Reared Underground, Changing Grandchild, He Who Scalps, He Who Floats Down) are joined in the name of Younger Brother. Holy Girl-Yellow Corn Girl becomes Younger Sister, and Holy Woman-White Corn Girl becomes Elder Sister. The single parent, mother or grandmother, is Changing Woman.

Each being seems to have his or her own character, patrons, and enemies. Elder Brother is strong and active, and he wins by force. His enemy is Buffalo Chief-Abalone Woman, who controls game that lives in herds. His patrons, whose powers he gains, are the Thunders and the Snakes. Elder Brother is concerned with game animals and the power of death. Younger Brother's enemy is White Butterfly; his patrons are the Birds, Stars, and Water Beings. He is concerned with agriculture and the power of life. Younger Sister, whose patron appears to be Water Woman, has Big Snake as her foe. Elder Sister has Mountain Woman for her patron; her enemy is Hunger Woman, She Who Dries People Up. In general, then, the Younger Brother and Sister are linked to water, agricultural growth, and life, while the Elder pair are concerned with mountains, game animals, and death.

Songs are important to the Navajos. Each ceremony has many songs associated with it. One singer said he knew over five hundred songs for Hail Way. As many as three hundred songs have been sung during the final long winter night of some ceremonies. Most of these songs are grouped in sets of four or multiples of four. Navajo songs have a formal, dignified beauty. Often

the lines are "parallel," having the same structure. Sometimes only one word changes from line to line. This allows the singer to use the symbols of holy things in his songs. Sometimes, if one person, such as Talking God or White Corn Boy, is named, another, such as Calling God or Yellow Corn Girl, must also be named in a second stanza. Some of the most famous song sets are the Blessing Songs and the Dawn Songs from Blessing Way.

Many important themes run through these stories. Most important is the idea of balance. Elder Brother is independent and aggressive; Younger Brother is careful and unhurried. Each needs the other for balance. When sure, act; when in doubt, wait. Balance is also important in attitudes toward wealth. Goods and knowledge should be acquired, not just for their own sake, but also to help others. Hoarding, the way Deer Raiser did, is not healthy. Being generous, like the Sun and Changing Woman, prevents greed. On the other hand, to be poor is to feel pain and ridicule. People who can support themselves well are admired.

Healthy relationships are also important. The stories tell of strong family bonds and the mother's role in the home. Likewise, spiritual power is not to be taken for granted or abused. Man can relate to these powers in the correct way if he observes rules and makes the right offerings. He faces natural justice when he disrupts right relationships. Abuses are severely punished, but respect for customs will bring good results.

The stories depict the Navajo world as one of order and justice. The best way to live is to be careful, independent, and responsible, and to respect the family and the spiritual world. Let us listen to these stories with respect and attention.

The Emergence
From Upward-Reaching Way (Há'niłnéézhii)

The First World was a Black World (Ni'hadilhil dasiká). At its edge, four cloud columns arose. In the east was White Dawn, in the south was Blue Daylight, in the west was Yellow Twilight, and in the north was Black Night. Only Holy People lived in the First World. They were Black Yéí'ii (Haashch'éé'h zhiin), Coyote (Ma'ii), Salt Woman (Áshįįh Asdzą́), and Behwochídii. Where the Black Cloud of the North met the White Cloud of the East, First Man (Altsé Hastiih) formed. First Woman (Altsé Asdzą́) formed where the Blue Cloud of the South met the Yellow Cloud of the West. A perfect ear of white corn, with twelve rows of kernels

covering the whole ear, formed with the First Man. With First Woman came a perfect ear of yellow corn, as well as whiteshell and turquoise. First Man asked First Woman to come and live with him, and she agreed. Insect beings, mostly the Ants (Wóláchíí'), also lived in the First World, along with Spider Man (Na'ashjé'ii Hastiih) and Spider Woman (Na'ashjé'ii Asdzą́).

It is said that, in his anger against Behwochídii, Black Yéí'ii set fire to the First World. But Behwochídii sent First Man to bring a Big Reed (Lókáá' tsoh) from the east. Behwochídii planted the Big Reed and all the creatures fled into it. After they entered the Big Reed, it grew higher and higher until it reached the Second World.

The Second World was a Blue World (Ni'hodootł'izh daziką́). Here the people met the various Blue Birds (Tsídii Dootł'izhi) and the Mountain Lions (Nashdóí tsoh). Badger (Nahach'id) also lived there, it seems.

First Man opened his medicine bundle (jish) and unfolded the four clouds that he had brought up from the First World. Again the columns of colored light arose at the edges of the world. Soon the people began to fight among themselves about whether or not they should move to mountains where it was raining. Black Yéí'ii became angry with them and set fire to the newly-fallen water. Then the people asked First Man to find an escape from the Second World. First Man sent out Zigzag Lightning toward the east, Straight Lightning toward the west, and Rainbow and Sunray. However, the people could travel only a little way on these. Then First Man made a prayerstick (k'et'án) of whiteshell, turquoise, abalone, and jet. On this prayerstick he drew four footprints. When the people stood on these, they rose up within the reed planted in the south. First Man carried with him the inner forms of the earth, plants, and clouds from the Second World.

The Holy People came into the Third World from the south. They found two rivers flowing through this Yellow World (Ni'łtso dasiką́). A female river ran from east to west and a male river ran from north to south. The Place Where the Waters Crossed (Tó alnáazlį́,Tó Bił Dahisk'id) is below Navaho Lake in northwest New Mexico. Again, in the Third World, First Man opened his medicine bundle and took out the jewels. He placed whiteshell in the east, turquoise in the south, abalone in the west, and jet in the north. He blew on them four times till they expanded and touched each other overhead. In this way he made a hogan that became the world. Then he took earth that he had

brought from below and made the sacred mountains. In the east, he placed Dawn Mountain (Sis Naajinii); in the south, Turquoise Mountain (Tsoodzil); in the west, Abalone Shell Mountain (Dook'o'oosłííd); and in the north, Jet Mountain (Dibé Ntsaa). In the center, he made a mountain of soft goods or banded rock (Dził Na'odiłii). To the east of the center mountain, he placed a mountain of hard goods or jewels (Ch'oolíjh).

After the people had gathered, the Yéí'ii approached. Black Yéí'ii and Water Sprinkler (Tóneinilii) each brought a sacred unwounded buckskin (doo k'aa'k'éhii). Talking God (Haashch'éé yałti'i) carried the two perfect ears of corn given to First Man and First Woman in the First World. One of the buckskins was laid down. On this, Talking God placed the two perfect ears of corn with their tips facing east. Under the corn, he put a white and a yellow eagle feather. Then he covered the corn with the other sacred buckskin and told the people to stand back. The White Wind came from the east; the Yellow Wind, from the west. Both entered between the blankets. While the wind stirred under the buckskins, eight Mirage People came and walked around the blankets. As they did so, the tips of the eagle feathers that stuck out past the edges of the blankets began to move. When the Mirage People had finished walking, the buckskin on the top was removed. There, instead of two ears of corn, lay a man and a woman, the First-Made Man and the First-Made Woman. From them came all of the First People.

First Man placed the First-Made Man and the First-Made Woman in the place of honor at the west side of the hogan, opposite the door. There he sat also, with First Woman, First Boy, First Girl, and Coyote. Then First Man assigned places in the hogan to all things made in this world: Earth and Mountain Woman; Zigzag Lightning and Straight Lightning; Male Rain and Female Rain; Dark Cloud and Vegetation; Yellow, White, Blue, Striped, and Many-colored Male and Female Corn; Reflected Red Sunray, Rainbow, and Lightning; Sky, Moon, Sun, Darkness, and Dawn; Monster Slayer and Born For Water; Cornbeetle Girl and Pollen Boy; Happiness and Longlife; Owl and Badger. These were the inner forms of beings that would later live in the Earth-Surface World or Fourth World after the Emergence.

Sometime later, corn was planted, and Cornbeetle Girl and Pollen Boy came and gave life to the corn, making it grow. For a time, the People were well fed and happy. But then something happened to change all that. As a result of immoral activity, the

men and women grew angry with each other. Finally First Man and all the men decided to leave. They would move across the river and live apart from the women. So that they could pass safely over the whirling water at the Place Where the Waters Crossed, the men had special boats built with sacred jewels in the front.

At first the women said that they were glad to be rid of the men. They planted a small field of corn. But they were soon too busy enjoying their new freedom to work, and the field quickly filled with weeds. As a result of the women's wickedness, many of the Monsters would be born. The men, meanwhile, prospered at their work. Their fields provided bigger harvests each year. But some of the men, who turned to bad ways as the women had, were struck with lightning.

The women finally grew tired and hungry. They began to starve because they had not tended their fields. Looking at their ragged clothes, they remembered their husbands across the river. After the women called to the men for help, the leaders met in council. They agreed that it would be bad to be forever without women, and so they brought the women back across the river. But they had to wait in a corral, apart from the men. A council then decided that sweathouses should be built so that the women could be purified. When this had been done, the men and women were reunited.

Later Coyote, prompted by First Woman, asked First Man for a piece of the whiteshell that First Man kept in his medicine bundle. Coyote began to play with the whiteshell in the river. Each time he dipped it in the water and drew it out, the water rose and fell. The fourth time he dipped the shell in the river, the water uncovered the baby of Water Monster (Téé hooltsódii). Coyote quickly grabbed the child and carried it off. Soon it began to rain. As the waters gathered in the washes and became a flood, the deer and the birds warned First Man that the flood was coming. Quickly he put all the inner forms of the Third World in his medicine bundle. Then he gathered the people so that they could leave. Led by Locust (Wíineeshch'ijdii), the people hurried into a tall reed and began climbing upwards, just ahead of the foaming water. The last of the people into the reed was Turkey (Tą́zhii). His tailfeathers have white tips where they were touched by the rising water.

Locust emerged into the Fourth World (Hajííneí), the Glittering World, and found it covered with water. When First Man came out, he was met by Talking God from the east and by Calling

God from the west. From the north and south came two Humpback Yéí'ii, Brin[illegible]s of Seeds (Ghą́ą́'ask'idii). The rim of the world had trapped the water. W[illegible]n the gods broke the rim, the water drained away. Then they called Cyclones, Thunder, and Hail to dry up the mud. Yet water continued to come up the reed from the Third World. This water threatened to flood the newly-dried Fourth World once more. Then First Man learned that Coyote had hidden Water Monster's baby under his coat. First Man made Coyote throw the baby back down the reed. It struck Water Monster on the forehead, so that he sank down into the water at the bottom of the reed. Only then did the water stop rising.

Among the songs is one that tells how First Man and First Woman came into this world. It recalls the Emergence in this way:

You say there were no people
Smoke was spreading [over the earth]
You say there were no people
Smoke was spreading.

First Man was the very first to emerge, they say,
Smoke was spreading
He brought with him the various robes and precious things,
they say,
Smoke was spreading
He brought with him the white corn and the yellow corn,
they say,
Smoke was spreading
He brought with him the various animals and the growing things,
they say,
Smoke was spreading.

You say there were no people
Smoke was spreading.

First Woman was the very first to emerge, they say,
Smoke was spreading.
She brought with her the various precious things and robes,
they say,
Smoke was spreading
She brought with her the yellow corn and the varicolored corn, they say,

Smoke was spreading
She brought with her the various animals and the
growing things,
they say,
Smoke was spreading.

You say there were no people
Smoke was spreading
You say there were no people
Smoke was spreading.[1]

The Earth-Surface World and Changing Woman
From Blessing Way (Hozhǫǫji)

Now, First Man worried about the state of things in the Earth-Surface World. He decided to make a sweathouse. When it was finished, First Man and First Woman covered the door with blankets and went in. First Man opened his medicine bundle and took the perfect spirit-forms out of their wrappers of whiteshell, turquoise, abalone, and jet. "Everything in this world shall have an inner form," he said. "The Sun and Moon shall have an inner form, and Mountain Woman and Water Woman, too." Then he made more inner forms. He placed them beside the others on the sheets of dawn, evening, twilight, sunlight, and darkness he had spread out. He said, "These shall be Whiteshell Boy, Turquoise Boy, Abalone Boy, and Jet Boy. These shall be the Rock Crystal, Mirage, Pollen, and Cornbeetle Boys. These shall be called Dewy Body and Dewy Leaves." Thus he made them, by naming them.

Then he told the People how to make the medicine, or male, hogan by setting up the east pole first. Talking God came from his mountain home to see the new hogan. He blessed it with pollen and sprinkled cornmeal on the roof beams and posts. First Man then continued his creation, making pairs of the Holy People (Diyin Dine'é).

Then First Man took out the inner forms of the sacred mountains, which he had brought up from the Third World. In the east, he placed the White Mountain (Sis Naajinii). He covered it with Dawn, Dark Cloud, Male Rain, and Dark Water. He fixed it to the earth with a bolt of Lightning. He then sent Dawn Boy and Girl there, to the mountain now known as Blanca Peak in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains of Colorado. Then, in the south, he placed the Turquoise Mountain (Tzoodzil). This he covered with Blue Sky, Dark Mist, Female Rain, and Blue Water. He fixed it to

the earth with a great stone knife. Then he sent Turquoise Boy and Girl to this place now known as Mount Taylor in New Mexico. In the west, First Man planted the Yellow Mountain (Dook-'o'oosłíid). He threw over it a cover of Evening Light, Dark Cloud, Male Rain, and Dark Water. Then he staked it to the ground with a Sunbeam. When this was done, he sent Abalone Shell Boy and Girl to this place. This mountain, now called Mount Humphreys, is in the San Francisco Peaks of Arizona. In the north, First Man placed the Dark Mountain (Dibé Ntsaa). He planted it with a Rainbow and covered it with Darkness, Dark Mist, Female Rain, and Blue Water. He sent Darkness Boy and Girl there, to what is known now as Hesperus Peak in the La Plata Mountains of Colorado.

Then First Man took out of his medicine bundle all of the Stars and the inner forms of the Sun and Moon. The song says this:

The first man holds it in his hands
He holds the sun in his hands
In the center of the sky, he holds it in his hands
As he holds it in his hands, it starts upward.

The first woman holds it in her hands
She holds the moon in her hands
In the center of the sky, she holds it in her hands
As she holds it in her hands, it starts upward.

The first man holds it in his hands
He holds the sun in his hands
In the center of the sky, he holds it in his hands
As he holds it in his hands, it starts downward.

The first woman holds it in her hands
She holds the moon in her hands
In the center of the sky, she holds it in her hands
As she holds it in her hands, it starts downward.[2]

Black Yéí'ii first placed the North Star (Sǫtsoh). Around this star, all the others would move. Then, very carefully, First Man laid out the star patterns in the sky. But soon Coyote grew impatient with putting Stars up one at a time and naming each one. Suddenly he snatched up the corner of the blanket and flipped it.

This scattered all the Stars across the sky like crushed crystal rocks. Turquoise Boy mounted a horse and promised to ride the sun trail every day carrying the Sun (Jóhonaa'éí). Whiteshell Girl then agreed to carry the Moon (Tł'éhonaa'éí).

First Man and First Woman told Coyote that it was up to him to decide if people should die. So Coyote took a rock and went down to the Black Water Lake (Tódiłhił). He threw the rock in, and, when it sank to the bottom of the lake, he knew the answer. From then on, even till now, people have died, and all of the spirits of the dead have gone to the world below.

Sometime later, One Walking Giant (Yéí'iitsoh Naagháhii) visited the People. He challenged them to play the first moccasin game. The Daylight People would play against the Night People. The Daylight People would use the moccasins of Gopher (Na'azisí) and Badger (Nahach'id). The Darkness People used those of Bear (Shash) and Porcupine (Dahsání). They played all night, but neither side could win all of the 102 counters. Because no one won the moccasin game, we have both day and night, instead of all daylight or all darkness. The People also thought about dividing the year into seasons for planting, growing, harvesting, and storytelling. They told the Lightning People to come and warn everyone not to tell stories in the wrong season.

First Man lived at the place now known as Huerfano Mountain (Dził Na'oodiłii). As the years passed, he grew more worried. Monsters had appeared on earth, disregarding all the holy things and killing people. Every day at dawn, he took his medicine bundle of the perfect corn and raised it up toward Gobernador Knob (Ch'oolį́ih) four times. In this way, he prayed for help. On the fourth morning, he saw a Dark Cloud descend over the Knob. At the top of the Knob, First Man met Talking God. At their feet lay a baby girl. She was born of the Dark Cloud, Rain, Sunrays, and Rainbows that gathered around her. Talking God let First Man take the baby home. But First Man gave Talking God the major role in the child's future. First Man then placed the baby girl, who was Changing Woman (Asdzą́ Nádlǫ́ehí), on some bark from a nearby cliff-rose bush. In this way, he took her home.

Changing Woman grew strong, fed on the broth given her by First Man and First Woman. They say she grew up in four days, but it really took four years. Soon it was time for Changing Woman's first woman's ceremony (Kinaaldá). First Man sent Little Wind to notify all the Talking Gods, who came for the ceremony.

Her parents laid out four fabrics and then fixed her hair. They dressed her in garments of whiteshell, turquoise, abalone, and jet. Dark Wind Talking God told her to lie on the fabrics facing eastward. Then he sprinkled her with Dawn and Evening Pollens from head to foot. He clothed her in a dress of whiteshell whose beads made a jingling sound. Because of this white-bead dress, Changing Woman is also called Whiteshell Woman. Then Talking God sent her to run eastward toward the Dawn and back again. This was, as the song says, to bring fertility to the world.

All kinds of horses lead up to her and go beyond,
the breeze coming from her as she runs is beautiful,
All kinds of sheep lead up to her and go beyond,
the breeze coming from her as she runs is beautiful,
All kinds of wild game lead up to her and go beyond,
the breeze coming from her as she runs is beautiful,
All kinds of vegetation lead up to her and go beyond,
the breeze coming from her as she runs is beautiful,

Comely servants lead up to her and go beyond,
the breeze coming from her as she runs is beautiful,
All kinds of jewels lead up to her and go beyond,
the breeze coming from her as she runs is beautiful,
All kinds of soft fabrics lead up to her and go beyond,
the breeze coming from her as she runs is beautiful,
In long life, in everlasting beauty,
the breeze coming from her as she runs is beautiful,
Being with her, it extends as far as the horizons,
increasing without a blemish,
the breeze coming from her as she runs is beautiful.[3]

At the first streak of Dawn, Talking God prepared Changing Woman's ritual bath by pouring dew into a basket. Her hair was washed, and she again set out to run towards the Dawn. When she returned, white clay was painted on her so that she would grow well. Then red ocher was painted on her so that she would bear children later. At this time, First Man decided that this ceremony would be, not just for Changing Woman, but for all young Navajo women.

Again Talking God spread out the fabrics. He blessed all of Changing Woman's limbs, using whiteshell pollen, which he rubbed in with his hands. When she stood up, he scattered the fabrics on which she had been blessed to the four directions. This

showed that they would be found everywhere. Then the Twelve Person Group came, and each of them gave songs to her. Their prayer began:

> Darkness is coming along, his feet become my feet,
> his legs become my legs, his body becomes my body,
> his mind becomes my mind, his voice becomes my
> voice, his speech becomes my speech, his headplume
> becomes my headplume.
> It has become blessed again. It has become blessed again.
> Following him Dawn comes along, his feet become my
> feet.[4]

So it was said for each of the Twelve Persons. Then Changing Woman was told not to sleep. She had to stay awake so that there would be Birth and Vegetation. This was the first no-sleep ceremonial.

After much time passed, Changing Woman had a second Kinaaldá. Now Talking God took over from First Man as they had agreed when they had found the baby. The ceremony was like the first one in many ways. But Talking God added the songs that are the blessing part of Blessing Way. He also added the songs for blessing the hogan:

> At the back of my house, whiteshell prayer offerings
> are placed; they are beautifully decorated;
> With my sacred power, I am traveling,
> At the center of my house, turquoise prayer offerings
> are placed; they are beautifully decorated;
> With my sacred power, I am traveling,
> In my house by the fireside, abalone prayer offerings
> are placed; they are beautifully decorated;
> With my sacred power, I am traveling,
> In my house, in the corners by the door,
> black jewel prayer offerings are placed;
> With my sacred power, I am traveling,
> In the doorway of my house, rock crystal prayer
> offerings
> are placed; they are beautifully decorated;
> With my sacred power, I am traveling.[5]

Then Changing Woman returned to Huerfano Mountain, where the Holy People were protecting her from the Monsters.

Monster Slayer, Born For Water, and Changing Bear Woman
From Monster Way (Nayéé'e) and Upward-Reaching Way (Ha'niłnéézhii)

Changing Woman was living at Huerfano Mountain with First Man and First Woman. One day she went out to gather firewood. She met a handsome and beautifully dressed stranger who told her to make a circle of branches with an opening facing east. She was to spend her nights there. Changing Woman did as the stranger had asked. For four nights the stranger came to her. She learned this on the fourth night, when she awoke early enough to see him leave. When she looked down, she found a perfect piece of turquoise on the ground next to her.

Because of the secret that stirred inside her, Changing Woman grew more restless every day. One afternoon she decided to go down to the spring to bathe herself. There, with the light of the moon shining on her, she washed her whole body. As the moonlit water entered her, she imagined that the stranger stood over her. Yet, when she opened her eyes, she found only a perfect whiteshell.

Nine days later, two boys were born. The elder was named Monster Slayer (Nayé'neezgání). The younger was called Born For Water (Tóbajishchíní). The elder brother had been fathered by the Sun, the younger by the Moon. The Twins were placed on Sunrays and Rainbows, which carried the boys to all the sacred mountains throughout Navajo country When they returned, they had become young men. The Twins then began to ask Changing Woman who their father was, but she did not tell them. After they had asked First Man four times, he told them that their father was the Sun. "You should visit him," he said. "Perhaps he will give you special weapons to kill the Monsters. That would make the world safe for the People."

Monster Slayer and Born For Water were magically transported by First Man to the home of Spider Woman. She fed them pollen and cornmeal for strength. She also gave them each an eagle plume (Liináá bits'os) and taught them prayers and chants. These would protect them from the obstacles they would meet on the journey.

Using these gifts, the boys safely passed the Moving Sand Wall (Séí'áád), which buried all who tried to climb it. They also escaped the Crashing Rocks (Tsé'ahídídíł), a canyon whose walls came together to crush all that tried to pass through it. The boys soon approached a lake that Spider Woman had warned them

about. The Water Monster living in this lake killed all who tried to cross it. Surrounding the lake were the razor-sharp Cutting Reeds (Lók'aa'adigishii). Seeing all of the victims' bones, the Twins said the prayers and sang the chants Spider Woman had taught them. Then they took the eagle plumes in their hands. Magically, the Cutting Reeds opened up, making a path on which the Twins passed through safely.

At the lake, they met Field Rat. He helped them by giving them the names of the Sun's bodyguards. These they could use as passwords to enter the Sun's house. After leaving Field Rat, they met Mirage Man, who gave them protection against evil-smoke. He also gave them special arrows. These not only carried the Twins across the lake, but also raised up the Winds to destroy the Water Monster. When the Twins arrived at the Sun's house, they found four fierce animals in front of the entrance. The boys remembered what Field Rat had told them and called out the names of the guards — "Endless Giant Snake" (Tl'iish tsoh Dooninít'i'ii), "Great Black Bear" (Shash tsoh), "Big Thunder" (Ii'ni'bika'ii), and "Big Wind" (Níyol tsoh). In this way, the guards let the Twins pass.

Inside the Sun's house, they met Dawn Woman, the Sun's wife. She was very angry at the Sun for having fathered children other than hers. Even so she asked her own children to hide the Twins in a corner of the house behind a blanket. When the Sun came home, he asked if anyone had come to visit. Dawn Woman told him there had been no strangers in the house. But the Sun did not believe her. He searched the house and found the Twins.

The Sun began to test the Twins to see if they were really his children. There were four giant flints (béésh doolghasii) stuck in the walls of his house to mark the four directions. The Sun hurled the boys against each one. Then he buried the boys under four columns of flint, hoping to crush them. Both times the eagle plumes saved the boys. For the third test, the Sun called in the Moon to build a sweathouse. He hoped to burn the boys in it. But the Moon dug a hole in the wall and hid the boys. Then he covered them with jewels to protect them. Each time the Sun made the sweathouse hotter and hotter, he asked the boys, "Are you warm enough yet?" They always replied, "Not yet." Eight times he raised the heat of the fire, but the Twins were unharmed. When he opened the sweathouse, they emerged unhurt. "Truly this is amazing," he said. "Let us smoke together." But Little Wind

warned them that the smoke was poison, so they took the medicine that Mirage Man had given them. In this way, they passed the fourth test.

"Truly you are my sons," the Sun exclaimed. He called his Dawn Children, who sprinkled pollen all over the Twins' bodies. Then they dressed the Twins in beautiful fringed buckskin clothes. When the Sun saw the handsome Twins, he asked them why they had come. Little Wind whispered in their ear, "Don't tell him you want his weapons." So instead they told him about the horrible conditions of life among the People.

"What is it you want?" the Sun repeated. Finally the boys pointed to the Lightning Arrows that hung above the door. The Sun agreed to give the Lightning Arrows to the Twins, but only if he was allowed to strike first. The Monsters, it seems, were also his sons. When the Twins agreed to this, the Sun gave the Zigzag Lightning Arrow (Atsinilt'ishk'aa') to Elder Brother, Monster Slayer. The Straight Lightning Arrow (Hatsoo'alghak'aa') he gave to Younger Brother, Born For Water. To Younger Brother was also given a firebrand. If its glow ever faded, the Sun told him, that would mean the Elder Brother was in trouble. Then Younger Brother should go to his rescue. These weapons, the songs say, would defeat any Monsters.

> Now with Monster Slayer I come,
> With dark flint knives from the flint house I come.
> With dark flint knives from where they dangle high I come.
> With a firebrand, though dreadful to you, I come.
>
> Now with Born for Water I come,
> With serrated flint knives from the house of flint, I come.
> With serrated flint knives from where they dangle high, I come.
> With a firebrand, though sacred to you, I come.[6]

After the Sun had clothed the Twins in flint armor, he carried them to the top of Mount Taylor.

The first Monster they came upon was the Giant Yéí'ii (Yéí'ii tsoh). This huge being was dressed in flint armor and swung a heavy club. The Giant Yéí'ii mocked the boys when he saw them, for they seemed very small to him. Then he lifted his club to smash them. But the Twins used their eagle plumes to dodge the swing of the club. The giant swung again, and again the club missed. The

Sun rushed to defend the boys. He hurled his Lightning Arrows against the Giant Yéí'ii. The Giant's armor shattered and pieces of flint flew everywhere. The Giant staggered and fell to the ground with a crash. Blood began to pour freely from his body. "Quickly," the Sun said, "stop the blood from running together. If it does, the Giant will surely come alive again." So the boys drew a line in the sand to keep the streams of blood from running together. The Monster's dried blood became the lava beds (Yéí'ii tsoh Bidił) south of Mount Taylor.

After this the older brother, Monster Slayer, became sick. The spirit of the Giant Yéí'ii had stayed in his scalp, which Monster Slayer still carried as a prize. So Born For Water was instructed to gather all the people. Then the first Enemy Way (Ndáá') was held to purify Elder Brother.

When Elder Brother was restored to health, the Twins set out to slay the second Monster. Horned Monster (Deelgéédi) roamed up and down the Jemez Mountains. The Twins could not get near him without being seen; so Gopher offered to help by digging a tunnel under the Monster's heart. He even chewed away the beast's heavy coat of hair. When Little Wind told Monster Slayer that this had been done, the older brother let fly his Zigzag Lightning Arrow. It sailed through the tunnel and entered the beast's heart. The Monster bellowed loudly and thrashed his horns. He gouged huge trenches in the ground before he finally collapsed. For their prizes, the Twins took the horns of the Monster and a part of the gut that they had filled with blood. Then they returned to tell Changing Woman what they had done.

They had not been home long when Round Darkness came and told them of a giant bird, Rock Monster Eagle (Tsé Ninahaleeh). This Monster terrorized people from her nest on the top of Shiprock (Tsé Bit'a'í). Monster Slayer set out at dawn to kill the Giant Bird. His younger brother stayed behind to watch the firebrand. Before Monster Slayer had even come near to Shiprock, he heard the sound of heavy wings and saw the sky darken. Then the Giant Eagle swooped down, picked him up, and carried him to the nest. There Monster Slayer cut the gut that was filled with Horned Monster's blood. That made it seem as if Elder Brother had been killed. When the Eagle returned, she was fooled by the blood, and he killed her. Then he turned her two little Eagles into Owls, let them go, and went home with the Eagle's feathers.

The Twins killed many other Monsters. One was Those That Kill With Their Eyes (Binaá' yee ághaanii), who killed people by staring right through them. Another was Tracking Bear (Shash Ná'álkaahi), who lived at the Carrizo Mountains (Dzil Náhoozhii) but hunted people living along the Lukachukai Mountains down to Hosta Butte (Ak'i Dah Nást'áni). The Twins also slew Kicking Monster (Tsé dah hódziitahii), who lived on Wild Horse Mesa near Mesa Verde. At last all the Monsters except the Grey Yéí'ii had been killed.

It seems that about this time there lived a beautiful girl called Tingling Maiden. Many unworthy men made her offers of marriage, but she refused them all. One day she proposed a hunt, saying that the man who caught the most rabbits might marry her. Badger caught the most, but Coyote tricked him and took the larger share to the young girl. Still she would not marry him. She decided to test him by asking him to kill Gray Yéí'ii. Although Coyote was not as strong as Grey Yéí'ii, he tricked the Monster into breaking his own leg. Then Coyote was able to kill the Monster. Tingling Maiden was so impressed that she agreed to marry him.

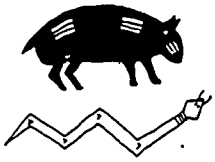
When her twelve brothers returned home, they found that the hogan reeked of Coyote. They hated him for corrupting their sister with his filthy ways, so they plotted against him. One day they took him out hunting, but he scared away much of the game. Finally they decided to get rid of him by sending him back home with some of the meat. On the way home, however, Coyote came upon the Spider and Swallow People and began to insult them. Soon he became so angry that he lost track of what he was doing and got himself caught in a huge web that the Spider People had made. When the brothers returned home without Coyote, Tingling Maiden thought they had killed her husband. After they told her what they had done, she set out to find Coyote. As she approached the Spider and Swallow People, her anger grew and grew. She went into a rampage and destroyed the web, the people, and their homes.

When the brothers heard about this, they grew afraid and hid their youngest brother in a hole to protect him. By the time when their sister returned home, her anger had changed her into a fierce bear. As Changing Bear Woman, she attacked her brothers. She slashed them with her claws, bit them with her long teeth, and knocked them dead with a sweep of her powerful arms. But Little

Wind warned the youngest brother, and he fled from his hole in the ground. Changing Bear Woman looked up from the destruction she had created and saw the boy running away. She chased him into the mountains, but there he turned on her. When she rose up to her full length, he hurled his Zig-zag Lightning Arrow into her chest and killed her. He cut up her body parts and threw them away: All of the parts became useful things, like pinyon nuts, acorns, mushrooms, different kinds of medicines, and even porcupines. Then the youngest brother went home and restored his brothers to life.

When these Monsters had been killed, Monster Slayer and Born For Water toured all the Navajo country. They stopped at all the sacred mountains to see that there were no more Monsters. Then they returned to Huerfano Mountain.

II. ANAÁ, DZILK'I, HÓZHÓNEE'JI: ON THE TRAIL OF BEAUTY



The Pueblo War

From Enemy Way (Anna'ji), Mountain Way (Dzilk'iji), and Beauty Way (Hózhónee'ji)

This story happened while Changing Woman was living at the Place of Emergence with her four children, Holy Man (Monster Slayer), Holy Woman, Holy Boy (Born For Water), and Holy Girl. Corn Man made a visit to the Rock Crystal People at their home in the rock. When he arrived, it seems, Rock Crystal Man called him "son-in-law." But this was a trick. Because Rock Crystal Man loved his own daughter, Rock Crystal Girl, he was jealous of Corn Man. He proposed that they go to war against the Ancient People at Taos. Corn Man agreed. When they raided the Pueblo, Rock Crystal Man captured two prisoners, a boy and a girl. Corn Man came home empty-handed. He could not understand why he should have failed. When he asked the old man's daughter, she said, "My father, Rock Crystal Man, is a witch. His medicine bundle, which has body parts from dead enemies inside it, keeps you from succeeding in war. But I will make a similar one for you, only it will have no power in it. Then you can switch it with his and get his power." Later that day, the two men entered the sweathouse to purify themselves. They took their bundles with them. When they came out, Corn Man had the powerful medicine bundle. They raided Taos again the next day, and Corn Man succeeded while Rock Crystal Man came back empty-handed. For this trick, the old witch hated Corn Man.

The old man began to show friendship to Corn Man, but this was only another trick. When Corn Man wasn't looking, the old witch stole the powerful medicine bundle back. Corn Man then proposed another raid on Taos. This time he gathered together all the Corn People, but Rock Crystal Man put a spell on them. To hide themselves, the Corn People changed themselves into trees when they surrounded the Pueblo. But the Pueblo people came out and began to cut down the trees, which groaned with pain as they fell. Corn Man returned to his own home both angry and sad.

He vowed to avenge himself on the Pueblo for the death of so many of his people.

About twelve years later, it is said, Corn Man's two younger sisters each gave birth to a daughter. White Corn Girl and Yellow Corn Girl grew to be beautiful young women. Soon they were old enough to be married. Corn Man then said that the men who would marry the girls must be warriors. Only they could avenge the death of his relatives, the Corn People. They must bring back the turquoise- and white-beaded scalps of two virgin girls from Taos whom sunlight had never touched.

All the warriors were informed of Corn Man's decision, and Coyote took the message to Monster Slayer. Turtledove was sent to assemble all the people for the war party. Monster Slayer smeared his body with charcoal and red clay and put sparkling dust on his face. On his legs he painted several bows. Born For Water, who is also called Gazer on Enemies, also painted himself. Instead of bows, though, he drew the triangular figure-eight (⧖) on his legs.

Monster Slayer made the correct offerings to the Sun for the success of the war party. Nine days later, the war party held the third all-night bonfire dance. Monster Slayer made an offering to Talking God. They danced a fourth time to insure the success and safety of the raiders. Then they had new flint points made for their arrows. Monster Slayer told all the men to paint their arrows with the Straight and Zigzag Lightning of the Sun. Thus they prepared for war.

The warriors moved toward Taos under Monster Slayer's direction. One night two strange, old, sickly men came into the camp and sat on the north side of the brush circle. They coughed all the time but made no other sound. Monster Slayer ordered them to go home because they were old and sick. The next morning, though, the old men had not moved. After making offerings of perfect shell to the Sun and the Moon, Monster Slayer again went over to the old men. He told them to leave, saying that they were of no use to a war party. Still they did not go. While the warriors went on their way toward Taos, they saw the old men trailing far behind them. When Monster Slayer rebuked them again, they said that they only wanted to observe, not to fight. At last he let them come along.

At dawn the warriors began to fight the Taos people. Surrounded by their own warriors, the two Pueblo virgins stood in the plaza of the pueblo. But when the Sun rose above the horizon, he

struck them dead. He then claimed the perfect shell disc that they wore. These prizes, he said, would belong to him and to the Moon. As the fierce battle raged, everyone saw the Sun turn red. Many Taos scalps were taken. When they were inspected, though, the scalps of the two maidens were not found.

Back at the camp, Monster Slayer told all the warriors to bring the scalps for another inspection. When he had searched every man in the camp, he found the virgins' scalps in the hands of the two sickly old men! The war leader then proposed a shooting contest to see who should marry the Corn girls. The young men lined up, but they all missed the target. Monster Slayer himself only grazed the target. Then the two old men scored bull's-eyes. It was clear that they should marry the two girls.

When the war party reached the main camp, all the scalps except the virgins' were placed on poles. The two virgins' scalps were presented to Corn Man. All the warriors blackened their faces, and a pot was brought out to hold the blood and water from the washed scalps. The pot was painted and covered so that it made a drum. A grey willow twig was chosen for a drumstick. Then the sway-singing (ndáá') and dancing began around a bonfire that would burn all night. Corn Man told his nieces to go outside and choose any warriors they wished for husbands. The girls went outside and danced around each warrior several times. But they soon began to sweat from the heat of the fire. So the girls decided to leave the dance and go to the stream for a drink.

Elder Sister sat on the west side of the stream while Younger Sister sat on the east side. Soon they noticed a sweet smell. They followed the scent to two young warriors, who gave them tobacco to smoke. The tobacco had been poisoned, however, and it put the girls to sleep. When they awoke in the middle of the night, they discovered that the handsome young warriors had changed into the two sickly old men. Their real names were Big Bear Man and Big Snake Man.

The girls ran to Monster Slayer. He beat them to drive away the flag plant and the plume poison that was in the smoke. The beating changed the girls into clouds, though, and they drifted away from camp. When they reappeared as humans, they ran away along the Rio Grande. Elder Sister ran to the north; Younger Sister, to the south. Though they were careful not to leave any footprints, the old men tracked them by following the sweet-smelling smoke. In this way, they set out after the girls they wanted to marry.

Elder Sister and Big Bear Man
From Mountain Way (Dziłk'iji)

While Younger Sister traveled south, Elder Sister turned and headed for Hogback Ridge. Big Bear Man followed her trail by tracking his magic smoke. He trailed her from the Hogback to Slim Water (Mancos) Canyon. From there she went toward Bear's Ears and Ute Mountain (Dził Naajinii), with the Bear following her every step of the way.

Elder Sister became very hungry. As she was gathering pinyon nuts to roast, she heard a voice asking, "What are you doing in this forbidden place?" Although it seemed that no one was there, the voice belonged to Fly (Dọ'tsoh). "I am running from the Big Bear Man of Wide Chokecherry Patch who has been chasing me for days," Elder Sister said. "I do not know where I am, but this seems to be a nice place and I would like to stay here." Big Fly spoke to her again. "I will show you the sacred mountain places," he said. He showed her sacred Canyon de Chelly and the different holy mountains. "On the other side of Fuzzy Mountain (Dził Di'tlooi, Abajo Mountains), Younger Sister has entered the earth," he said. At this the girl cried, but he tried to comfort her, saying, "Do not cry! Your sister will return to you, perhaps. She went into that canyon there by Round Rock near Chinle, then on towards Wide Rock." Before he left, he showed Elder Sister Ute Mountain and told her never to visit it. All the sacred mountains appeared before her, guarded by birds. She sang:

Place-whence-they-came looms up,
Now the black mountain looms up.
The tail of the "yellow wing" looms up,
My treasure, my sacrifice, loom up.

Land-where-they-moved-out looms up,
Now the blue mountain looms up,
The tail of the hen-hawk looms up,
My treasure, my sacrifice, loom up.[7]

So she sang for the yellow and white sacred mountains as well.

After a night's rest, Elder Sister continued to wander. She soon ate all the pinyon nuts that she had roasted the day before. Then, like a bear, she began to eat chokecherries, service berries, gooseberries, and currants. She soon found her path blocked by a large black creature with its head to the south and its tail to the north. On its back were white, yellow, blue, and red spots. It

stretched to the horizons on each side of her. There seemed to be no way around this big black thing. Just as she was thinking that she would run over its back, it rose up to block her path. When she tried to go around the front of it, it knocked her down. "Why are you doing this?" a voice said to her. "Don't you know that this is Endless Giant Snake, the slave of Big Bear Man. He will try to wrap himself around you and kill you. Go back, go back!" She quickly turned back the way she had come.

By this time, her wanderings had made her thin from hunger. Her clothes were torn to rags. Then she heard the voice of Chipmunk telling her that she should enter a nearby cave. With the help of Talking God, she passed by the doorguards safely. These were stones of black, blue, yellow, and white fire that hissed at her as she passed. Inside she met the First World People, who pitied her for her sorry condition. They bathed her carefully and dressed her in beautiful clothes. She stayed as one of them for some time. Later she gave birth to a baby girl whose face was human, but whose body was covered with bear fur. From these people she learned the first Mountain Way ceremony, but she soon longed to have more of the mountain medicine for her people.

With Talking God, she set out to visit the people of the mountains. She went to the homes of Mountain Woman, sometimes called Thin Woman or Hunger Woman, and Rock Man. She also visited the homes of Water Monster, Bird Chief, the Holy Young Men and the Holy Young Women, and Changing Bear Woman, who had married Coyote. She met the Porcupine, Bear, Bluebird, Deer, Mountain Sheep, Squirrel, Beaver, and Antelope People. Each gave her their prayersticks and songs. In the end, she knew all the medicine of the mountains. Then she decided to return to the home of her Bear husband.

On the way back, Meal Sprinkler warned her not to go near White Thunder's home. When she did stray near it, she was attacked by Lightning and badly hurt. The Lightning caused her ankles and joints to swell and made it difficult for her to walk. When she stopped to drink at a spring, the water only increased the pain.

When she reached her home, she was hurt so badly that her Bear husband decided he should sing over her. But others said, "No! It is not right for a husband to sing over his wife." Instead they sent for Talking God. Talking God took one look at Elder Sister and saw the cause of her pain. "Lightning has attacked you,"

he said. "Also, Toad and Big Snake have shot stones into your knees, back, and other joints. They did this because you drank at their spring."

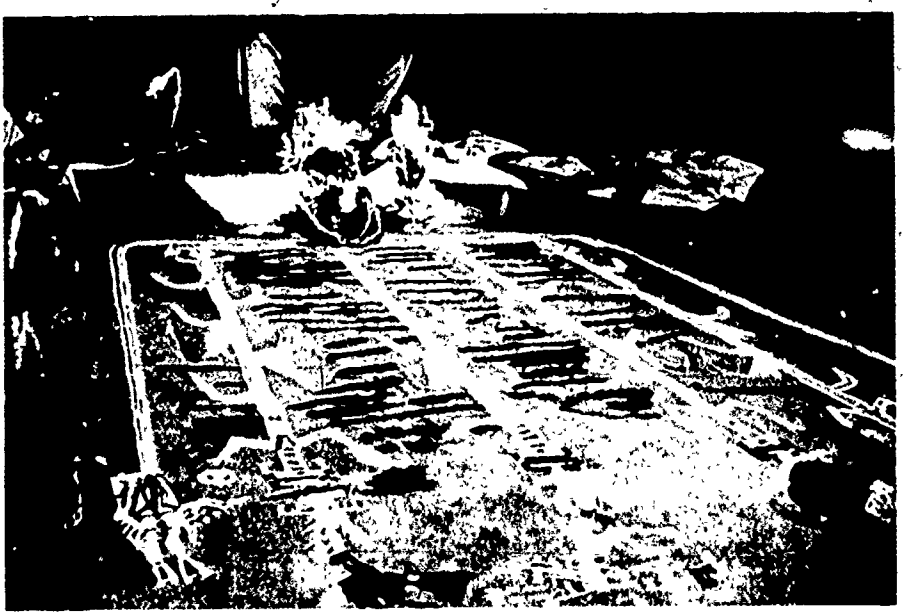
Then a full Mountain Way ceremony was held for her. They dug a trench and put the mountain medicines into it. They burned branches from the sumac and the different berries, and they laid Elder Sister, wrapped in buckskin, on the ashes to sweat out the evil. Prayersticks were made for the Mountain People she had visited. In the evening, they applied the unravelings (woltáád) to her limbs. Cinctures of fir branches were tied to her shoulders and wrists. Then Monster Slayer cut the branches off with his flint knife. This symbolized her freedom from bondage to the pain in her joints. A shelter like a bear's den was built, and she was placed in it. While she waited in darkness, suddenly a bear-like figure dressed in masses of evergreen leaped towards her. This shocked her into unconsciousness, from which she had to be restored by Talking God.

While runners were sent out to gather people for the last night's fire dance, the singers prepared sandpaintings. They used the Bear's Den sandpainting for the shock rite, and other paint-

On the second morning of this Red Ant Way Ceremony, the painting of Blue Horned Toad is being made and a small hoop is being prepared for the purification rite. A W.R. Heick photograph, from Leland C. Wyman, The Red Antway of the Navaho *(Santa Fe, Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, copyright 1965), p. 269, reprinted by permission of the Wheelwright Museum.*

ings for the rest of the ceremony. The painting of the Home of the Bear and the Snake showed where Elder Sister had stayed in the mountains. The People of the Myth sandpainting showed some of the mountain people she had visited. The Long Bodies, also called Mountain Goddesses, who live at the tops of the mountains, had their own special painting because they control the mountain medicines and the ceremonies. On the last day, wood was gathered for the Dark Circle of Branches. After the sandpainting of the Great Plumed Arrows was made, the People began to build the corral.

By the time darkness had come, the fires in the corral had burned low. Then the Fire Dancers entered the corral. They were followed by the First Dancers who swallowed and spit up the Great Plumed Arrows. After these came the Yéí'ii, who danced while drumming their baskets. Many other dancers followed — Mountain Sheep, Turkey, Porcupine, Badger, and Mountain People. The ceremony ended just at dawn. When light appeared in the east, exits were cut in the other three sides of the brush corral. Then it was finished, and Elder Sister returned to her own people.



This painting of the Blue Corn People was made on the eighth morning of a Red Ant Way Ceremony. Prayersticks (k'et'áh) are planted around the painting. Large willow hoops for the tsé bąs lie on calico spreads (upper right). *At the base of the painting* (upper center), *small cinctures for the woltáád rest on a spruce upright. A Charlotte I. Johnson photograph, from Leland C. Wyman,* The Red Antway of the Navaho *(Santa Fe, Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, copyright 1965), p. 271, reprinted by permission of the Wheelwright Museum.*

Younger Sister and Big Snake Man
From Beauty Way (Hózhónee'ji)

Younger Sister, meanwhile, was being chased by Big Snake Man. Using his magic smoke, he trailed her to Hosta Butte and Yucca Mountain. From there they went first to the White Mountains and then to the San Francisco Peaks. Then she turned back eastward toward the Sonsela Buttes. By the time she neared Black Rock, between Canyon de Chelly and Canyon del Muerto, she had become extremely thirsty. Her clothes were so worn that she had to cover herself with a bunch of mountain rice.

At the top of Black Rock, Younger Sister found a pool of water in a rock basin. Just as she as about to drink, she heard someone call to her. She looked up and saw a slim young man painted all over with bluish clay and ornamented with a necklace and a rain plume. He warned her that she was in a holy place where Earth-Surface People were not allowed. He also told her not to drink of the water there because the pool was really a doorguard. Beneath the stone there was a passage leading underground. There, in the underground world, he told her, she could escape Big Snake. He tapped the pool with the weasel-skin medicine bundle he carried and removed the stone. Beneath the rock, a ladder descended into the mountain. Younger Sister then looked about her for the stranger, but he had vanished. Carefully she descended the ladder into the underground darkness. As she drew near the bottom, it grew lighter all about her. Reaching the bottom of the ladder, she found herself in the daylight of the lower world. There to greet her was the stranger, who told her he was Mountain Sheep Man.

She stayed with the Mountain Sheep People for some time but then decided to move on. In her traveling, she discovered many ruins. Some were still standing in good shape. She also found melon fields and cornfields, some just planted and others fully ripe. The ripe corn appealed to her, for she was very hungry from her wandering. She plucked several ears and husked them, exposing the full, sweet kernels. Then she returned with the corn to a family of Snake People with whom she had been living. The father had called her "daughter-in-law." After borrowing a knife to cut the kernels from the corn, she boiled a mush for them.

After dinner, some of the Snake People spent their time at target practice with their Lightning Arrows. Others talked and smoked. So they passed the time until the people grew drowsy and decided to go to sleep. One of the people told her, "We are very

ugly, daughter-in-law. Whatever you do, if you wake up during the night, don't relight the fire!" The girl tossed and turned. At last she decided to get up because she could not sleep. She wanted the warmth of the fire. During the night, her ankles, knees, and waist had become swollen, and the soles of her feet had become sore. She added a few sticks to the fire, and it blazed right up again. Looking about in the flickering light, she was horrified. She was in a den of coiled rattlesnakes! Terrified, she began to jump around wildly. She tried to avoid any contact with the snakes, but she stepped on many of them. Suddenly one rose up, standing full-length in front of her, warning her with its rattle. Another stood up behind, and one on each side of her, all rattling. Quickly she smothered the fire with handfuls of dirt. Sobbing, she threw herself back down on the ground where she had been lying. There she stayed until morning, silent but wide awake and full of fear.

In the morning, the Snake People, now in human form, complained to her. They pointed to the bruises she had made by stepping on them. Younger Sister fell silent. Then she recalled the evening before. She had seen a stranger who looked like Big Snake Man enter the place and pass her by without saying a word. As she was thinking, the Snake People spoke again They told her, "We shall leave you during the day from now on. While we are gone you must obey all our instructions!"

For each of the next four days they left her. Each day they told her not to open a particular water jug. But Younger Sister's curiosity got the best of her, and each day the Snakes came home to a different mess. The first day, she opened the dark water jug, letting out a dust storm that blew through the house on a scorching wind. The second day, she opened the white water jug and let out a storm of Hail and Lightning. The third day, it was the blue water jug she opened. It released dark black clouds filled with heavy Male Rain and Zigzag Lightning. The fourth day, she opened the yellow jar, and all day Female Rain fell steadily in the home of the Snakes. She opened a fifth, glittering, water jug the next day. This filled the house with mist so thick that many of the Snakes wandered out into the darkness and became lost.

Still they tested Younger Sister by leaving her alone each day. They told her not to wander off because bad people lived all around them. The next day, however, Younger Sister began to roam about. Walking east, she came to a field of squash plants that attacked her. They trapped her in their vines and leaves so that she had to be cut free with flint knives. The second day, she

wandered south till she came to the home of Ch'aʃ, the Toad. He punished her for trespassing on his land by shooting her hips, knees, and shoulders with mudballs. When her husband, Big Snake Man, found her, she was stiff as a corpse. He restored her to life. Then he punished Ch'aʃ by shooting the Toad's darts back at him. The third day, she went north and met the Rock Wrens. They were rolling stones down a smooth hill. She tried to imitate their sport, but the stones buried and crushed her. That day no one, not even Mountain Lion or Wolf or Wildcat, could find her. Finally Big Snake Man called on Badger. He discovered her body buried under the rocks, her bones already stripped of flesh. Badger brought the bones back to Big Snake Man. He completely restored Younger Sister, using the songs of the Arrowsnake and the Wind.

Younger Sister remained at the home of Big Snake for four years. At the end of this time, all the songs, prayers, medicines, sandpaintings, incense, and prayersticks of the chant had been given to her. "A ceremony shall be held for you, a sing given for you," she was told. "You shall become holy. Your Elder Sister on the other side of Wide Chokecherry Patch also has learned all that she needs to know. A ceremony will be conducted for her also." So, as Elder Sister's Mountain Way ceremony began, the Younger Sister's Beauty Way ceremony started. The usual rituals were held on the first four days. A prayer to Big Snake Man was said.[8]

> Young man, this day I gave you my tobacco, at [Cabezon Peak], Young Man, Big Snake Man, Head Man!
> Today I have given you my tobacco, today you must make my feet and legs well, my body, my mind, my sound, the evil power you have put it into me, you must take it out of me, away, far away from me!
> Today you must make me well. All the things that have harmed me will leave me.
> I will walk with a cool body after they have left me.
> Inside of me today will be well, all fever will have come out of me, and go away from me, and leave my head cool!
> I will hear today, I will see today, I will be in my right mind today!
> Today I will walk out, today everything evil will leave me, I will be as I was before, I will have a cool breeze over my body, I will walk with a light body.

[8] Selection from Leland C. Wyman, ed., *Beautyway, A Navajo Ceremonial*, Bollingen Series LIII, pp. 111 42, copyright (c) 1957 by Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

I will be happy forever, nothing will hinder me!
I walk in front of me beautiful, I walk behind me beautiful, under me beautiful, on top of me beautiful, around me beautiful, my words will be beautiful!
I will be everlasting one, everything is beautiful!

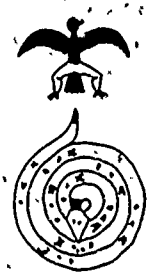
On the fifth day, runners were sent out to announce the dance. They returned to report that they had met runners telling of Elder Sister's Mountain Way. On that day, with the making of the sandpaintings of Bear and Snake, the two ceremonies began. As the day continued, incense was used and the badger rattle was rattled. The day ended with basket drumming. So it continued. The next three days were like the fifth day, but each had a special sandpainting. On the sixth day, a sandpainting of Water Creatures was made. On the last day, Younger Sister was ritually bathed. Pollen was put on her. The sandpainting of Big Thunder was made. Then the Yéí'ii began to appear. Talking God directed the construction of the Dark Circle of Branches. After dark the dancers came into the circle of firelight to dance. At the first streak of Dawn, Dawn Songs were sung. Then both Younger Sister's Beauty Way and Elder Sister's Mountain Way ended.

Younger Sister was told that after four days she should start home. She should teach her people all of the Beauty Way except the Dark Circle of Branches, which should not be done again. On the fourth day, she was told, she would meet her Elder Sister, who was also leaving for home. Talking God told Younger Sister that the two ceremonies were related. After the Sisters taught them to the People, the two would come to live with the Holy People. Younger Sister would live at Black Rock. Elder Sister would return to Wide Chokecherry Patch.

On the way home, White Corn Girl and Yellow Corn Boy gave Younger Sister a single kernel of white corn and one of yellow corn that she was to keep for future use. On the fourth day, she met Elder Sister near Hogback Ridge. They walked home together, but neither their two brothers nor their parents recognized them. The family did not understand who they were until they had recounted every detail of their adventures. Then Younger Brother was placed between the two sisters. Together Elder Sister sang her Mountain Way and Younger Sister sang her Beauty Way over him. The two ceremonies have been related ever since.

On the eighth morning of this Red Ant Way Ceremony, the patient's body is painted. The singer (hataali) uses symbolic colors to make the design. A sandstone slab, used as a palette, sits in front of the young patient. Prayersticks stand at the top of the sandpainting. A Charlotte I. Johnson photograph, from Leland C. Wyman, The Red Antway of the Navaho *(Santa Fe, Museum of Navajo Ceremo. cal Art, copyright 1965), p. 273, reprinted by permission of the Wheelwright Museum.*

III. HAASHCH'ÉÉH DINE'É BIL: WITH THE HOLY PEOPLE



The Stricken Twin Brothers
From Night Way (Tl'éé'jí)

This story took place when the family was living at Wide Rock (Tsé ntéél) in Canyon de Chélly. The twin brothers were eager to explore this beautiful canyon. They often roamed far from camp, and one evening they did not return. Their mother thought they had gone to look for their father. Though the boys did not know it, they were the sons of Talking God. When they did return, Elder Brother was blind. He carried on his back a lame Younger Brother. They told their mother how they had been trapped in a cave when the roof fell in. Five days later they had been freed by Squeaking Yéí'ii (Haashch'ééh há'dilts'ósii).

The Twins decided to visit Canyon de Chelly (Tséghi) to ask the Holy People to cure their blindness and lameness. As they approached the sacred place, they sang:

Tse'gihi.
House made of the dawn.
House made of evening light.
House made of the dark cloud.
House made of male rain.
House made of dark mist.
House made of female rain.
House made of pollen.
House made of grasshoppers.
Dark cloud is at the door.
The trail out of it is dark cloud.
The zigzag lightning stands high up on it.
Male Yéí'ii,
Your offering I make.
I have prepared a smoke for you.
Restore my feet for me.
Restore my legs for me.
Restore my body for me.
Restore my mind for me.
Restore my voice for me.[9]

Talking God suggested that the brothers could reach the Holy People by going into Wide Rock (Tsé ntéél). He showed them the door, which was in a rainbow arch. After passing through four rainbow doorways, the brothers came to a room where all the Holy People were gathered. When Calling God saw them, he became very angry. "Earth-Surface People are not allowed in this holy place," he said. He then asked all the Yéí'ii, "Who told these brothers the secret of entering Wide Rock?" One by one, each Yéí'ii said that he had not told the brothers. When Calling God asked the boys why they had come, they told him they were seeking healing. Each of the Yéí'ii then said that he had no power to heal the boys, though each really had the power.

Instead they sent the brothers to many holy places in search of help. Each time the Twins were refused, and each time Talking God came to the boys' defense. He scolded the other Yéí'ii for their lack of kindness, but it did not help. "What do you hope to gain?" Talking God asked the boys. "Perhaps they will have pity on us," they said. "Then they will heal us." But it seemed hopeless, for they had no offerings to give the Yéí'ii. Discouraged and tired, the boys were taken to Chuska Knoll by Water Sprinkler (Tóneinilii). From there they made their way back to the house of the Yéí'ii in the Wide Rock of Canyon de Chelly.

The Yéí'ii saw the blind Elder Brother returning with his lame Younger Brother on his back. Then the Holy People remembered that Talking God had scolded them for not helping the two. He had hinted that the boys might be related to them. Then Talking God told Calling God and the other Yéí'ii that this was true. Again he scolded them for not assisting the stricken Twins. Then he assured the boys that they would be cured.

At Kinnií'Nalgai the Yéí'ii built a sweathouse for the boys. They applied sheep's eyewater and herbal medicines to Elder Brother's eyes. They also put sheep's Achilles tendons and herbal medicine on Younger Brother's legs. When the Yéí'ii began to sing, Younger Brother could feel strength coming back into his legs. Elder Brother saw a brightening light. Sensing that their cure would soon be complete, the boys shouted with joy. Suddenly everything went dark for Elder Brother. The strength left Younger Brother's legs. "Now," Calling God told them, "see what you have done by shouting like that! The healing is at an end. If it is to happen again, you will have to bring offerings."

The Yéí'ii then told the boys that they should get the offerings from the Hopis. To do this, the Twins were given four

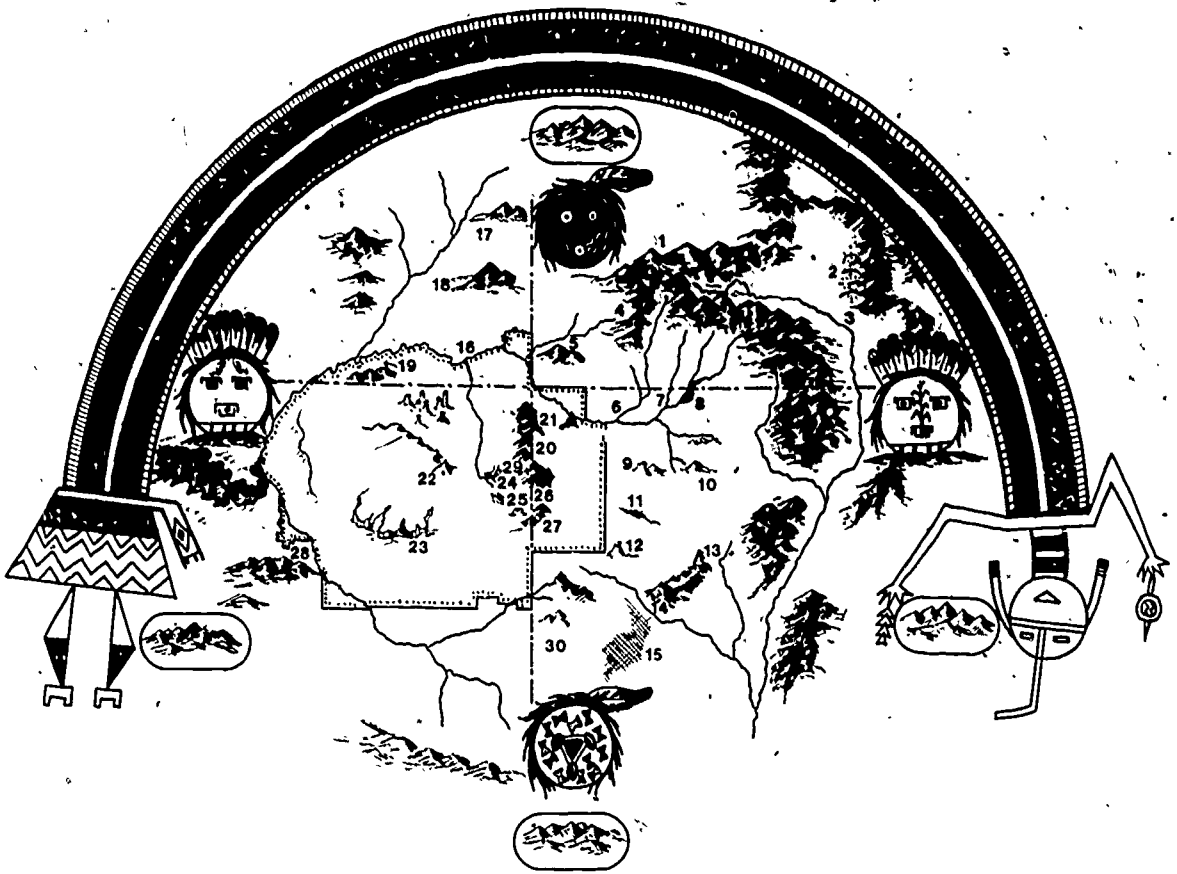
plagues. At Walpi village, the Hopis refused almost immediately. They abused and mocked the Twins. Then the boys unleashed the first of the plagues. Rats came and destroyed the growing corn. When the Hopis saw this, they gave the boys sacred buckskins in exchange for taking the rats away.

Although the boys did get rid of the rats, the crops had already been destroyed. The anger of the Hopis again flared up against the Twins. So, when the Hopis at Awatobi village planted their new crop, the boys sent out a second plague. Worms came and ate most of the seeds. In return for controlling the worms, the boys obtained summer-bird feathers and jewels. But then the Hopis grew angry again, so the Twins let loose the third plague. This time a hard wind came and battered the young corn to the ground. In exchange for stopping the wind, the Twins received many fine goods, including woven sashes.

No sooner had the wind died down than the people began to abuse the boys again. This time the boys called up a plague of grasshoppers. Despite the Hopi efforts to smoke the insects out, all the remaining corn was destroyed. Then the Hopis plotted with the chief at Awatobi. They would give the boys many offerings of jewels, feathers, and buckskins. When the boys had removed the grasshoppers, the chief would kill them and take the wealth for himself. But after the boys removed the plague, they fled immediately. Though the Hopis chased them, the Twins escaped, protected by the Holy People.

When Talking God saw the boys returning, he sent Messenger Yéí'ii to meet them. Messenger Yéí'ii returned with the news that the boys had succeeded in getting the offerings. The Yéí'ii all assembled a "sé ntéél. But Big Snake and Giant Yéí'ii were not invited because of their tendencies to wickedness. The rest of that first day was spent in making the medicine hogan and the circle prayersticks. The Yéí'ii asked Black Yéí'ii to sing over the boys.

On the fifth day of the sing, the Yéí'ii were to divide the offerings. Big Fly (Do'tsoh) had been watching this. He flew to the home of Giant Yéí'ii and Big Snake and told them that they were being left out. At this both grew angry. Giant Yéí'ii attacked the ceremony with a heavy rainstorm and thunder. All left except Talking God, Black Yéí'ii, and the two boys. Black Yéí'ii knew that Giant Yéí'ii did not care for jewels. Instead he gave him an offering of tobacco. Then the angry Yéí'ii withdrew the storm he had sent.


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30

NAVAJO SACRED PLACES

1. Hajííneí
2. Séí'áád
3. Sis Naajinii
4. Dibé Ntsaa
5. Dził Naajinii
6. Kin Ntéél
7. Toyetli
8. Tó Ałnáozlį
9. Dził Na'oodiłii
10. Ch'oolį́įh
11. Tsé Biyah Anii'áhí
12. Ak'i Dah Nást'ání
13. Tsé Najiin
14. Tsoodził
15. Yéí'ii Tsoh Bidił
16. Tse'nihodilyil
17. Dził Ashdla'ii
18. Dził Di'tlooi
19. Naatsis'ą́
20. Tséchííyi'
21. Tsé Bit'a'í
22. Dził Yíjiin
23. Thalahogan
24. Tséghi
25. Sǫ'silá
26. Tódiłhił
27. Ch'ógaii
28. Dook'o'ooslííd
29. Séíheets'ózii
30. Tsé etah

The ceremony resumed. Calling God's two daughters applied the plumed wands to the boys. This completed the straightening of their limbs. Then the boys were dressed in beautiful clothes and given an embroidered blanket. On the sixth day, a sandpainting of the Place of Whirling Logs (Tsin Na'eelii) was made for the boys. On the seventh day, a painting was made of Calling God (Haashch'ééh hoghan). On the eighth day, a painting was made of the Fringe Mouth Yéí'ii (Dzahodoolzhahii). Then the Twins joined the Fringe Mouths, the Male Yéí'ii (Haashch'ééh bika'), and Talking God for special ceremonies outside the hogan. On the ninth and last full day, a sand painting was made of Black Yéí'ii (Haashch'ééh zhiin). Just before Dawn, after an all-night sing, the boys were taken to the east of the hogan. There Talking God, the Fringe Mouths, and the Ghąą'ask'idii sang over them. The ceremony ended with the singing of the Dawn Songs.

The council of Yéí'ii then decided to send Elder Brother to the Sandstone Needles (Tsé Désdza'ii) near Fort Defiance. There he would control the thunder, and the people could find him if they ever needed rain. They sent Younger Brother to a place near Navajo Springs. There he was given another name, Guardian of Animals (Dini'yá sidahí). Before living with the Holy People, however, the Twins were to return home and teach the ceremony to the People.

Elder Brother's Adventures within the Earth

From Shooting Way (Na'atóu), Male Branch (Bika'ji), and Navajo Wind Way (Diné Binílch'i)

On their way back to their home at Emergence Place, the Twins came to a house which seemed to have no one in it. Inside they saw mountain-lion-skin quivers hung on the east and west walls of the house. Otter-skin quivers hung on the north and south walls. With a sudden noise, an Arrow Woman appeared from each of the otter-skin quivers. An Arrow Man leaped from each of the mountain-lion-skin quivers. The Twins explained that they were seeking sacred knowledge. The chief of the Arrow People gave them knowledge of the powers of different arrows. He also showed them the sandpaintings of the Four Arrow People, the Whiteshell Arrow People, and the Feathered Arrow People. But Elder Brother stole some black and white feathers of a sacred grebe, a water bird, from this chief. These the youth wanted to use

for his own arrows. When the Arrow People discovered the theft, they attacked the Twins, who were saved only by the prayersticks that the Yéí'ii had given them.

Another day on their journey home, as the Twins camped by the edge of a lake, Younger Brother looked up to find Elder Brother gone. Fearing that Elder Brother had disappeared beneath the water, Younger Brother hurried away to get help from home.

In fact, Elder Brother had been taken below the lake to the home of the Big Snakes. There Big Snake greeted him as "son-in-law" and asked for tobacco. Elder Brother gave Big Snake a smoke of poisonous tobacco. When Big Snake inhaled the smoke, he immediately fell down unconscious. Big Snake's wife begged Elder Brother to restore her husband. She promised to give him all her husband's valuables in exchange for his life. So Elder Brother restored Big Snake and claimed his beads and jewels. To get them back, Big Snake gave Elder Brother five sandpaintings, including the Big Snake sandpainting. He added, "I have very little knowledge, but over beneath Sky-Reaching Rock live the Snake People. They have much knowledge that they may be willing to share."

The next morning, Elder Brother, curious about Big Snake's remarks, entered the Sky-Reaching Rock. He found himself inside a dark room with Big Snakes, Crooked Snakes, Arrow Snakes, all the Snakes except the Water Snakes. They were gathered around a large twelve-eared cornstalk that stood in the center of the room. The Snake Chief welcomed him and asked why he had come. Elder Brother told about disappearing into the lake, coming to the home of Big Snake, and receiving the sandpainting from Big Snake. "That's just like him," the Snake Chief said. "He didn't give you any of the valuable paintings, only the unimportant ones. Let me show you the valuable one." Then the Snake Chief presented Elder Brother with a painting of the Snake People and the Corn. Later Elder Brother learned the paintings of the Grinding Snakes and the Endless Snake. He then returned to the home of Big Snake and married Big Snake's daughter.

The next day, Big Snake warned his new son-in-law not to visit Red Mountain, but the young man's curiosity got the best of him once again. He set out, unmindful of the danger. When Elder Brother came along, Red Coyote blew his own skin onto Elder Brother. This transformed Elder Brother into an animal, while

Coyote adopted the young man's own form. Disguised as Elder Brother, Coyote returned to Big Snake's house to claim the girl. His smell gave him away, though, and he was chased from the house.

Big Snake now became concerned for his new son-in-law and determined to search for him:

> "My grandchild, where, I wonder, has he gone," he said about me.
> "With my grandchild I shall return," he said about me.
> Down [through] the first square of the white earth, Talking God, carrying a talking prayerstick, has come in after me by means of this!
> Farther on, down [through] the second square of the yellow earth, Talking God, carrying a talking prayerstick, has come in after me by means of this!
> Farther on, down [through] the third square of the blue earth, Talking God, carrying a talking prayerstick, has come in after me by means of this!
> Farther on, down [through] the fourth square of the dark earth, Talking God, carrying a talking prayerstick, has come in after me by means of this![10]

He found Elder Brother wrapped in Red Coyote's stinking coat. Right there he set up a row of five hoops to remove the coyote skin. As Elder Brother passed through each of the willow hoops (tsę bąs), the coyote skin came off a little bit more. When he passed through the fifth hoop of wild rose, the thorns caught on the skin and pulled it off completely. Then the Snakes and other people came and restored Elder Brother's senses. After this, Elder Brother returned home with Big Snake:

> This way, across the red snake which he had placed at your entrance, Talking God, carrying the talking prayerstick, stepped outside with you by means of this, Calling God stood in position in your rear!
> This way, across the red big snake which he had placed at your entrance, Talking God, carrying the talking prayerstick, stepped outside with you, Calling God stood in position in your rear!
> This way, across the red wind which he had placed at your entrance, Talking God, carrying the talking prayerstick, stepped outside with you, Calling God stood in position in your rear!

This way, across the red coyote which he had placed at your entrance, Talking God, carrying the talking prayerstick, stepped outside with you, Calling God stood in position in your rear!
Out through the first square of the dark earth to its top, Talking God, carrying the talking prayerstick, arrived with you by means of this, Calling God stood in position in your rear!
Out through the second square of the blue earth to the top of it, Talking God, carrying the talking prayerstick, has arrived with you by means of this, Calling God took position in your rear!
Out through the third square of the yellow earth to the top of it, Talking God, carrying the talking prayerstick, has arrived with you by means of this, Calling God took position in your rear!
Out through the fourth square of the white earth to the top of it, Talking God, carrying the talking prayerstick, has arrived with you by means of this, Calling God took position in your rear![11]

Meanwhile Elder Brother's family had not found any trace of their missing relative. Talking God directed the Winds to inspect the bottom of the lake where he had disappeared. Each time they went to the lake, they said, an angry man sent them back, scolding them fiercely. So Talking God sent Dọ'tsọh, the Messenger Fly, to the Thunders. But even they failed to open a way to the bottom. After a council, they decided to seek the aid of Black Yéí'ii. He came to the lake where Elder Brother had disappeared. There he struck the water with his cane and opened the surface of the lake. Beneath he found a ladder descending to the bottom, where four Snakes lay coiled. There he saw Big Snake, and four times he asked him to hand over Elder Brother. When Big Snake refused, Black Yéí'ii set the lake on fire. This forced Big Snake to tell the Yéí'ii where Elder Brother was hidden. Finally the Yéí'ii found the youth in the north cloud of the lower world. From there Black Yéí'ii led him back to his anxious family at the water's edge:

"Now at last you and I have returned, my grandchild!" Talking God, carrying the talking prayerstick, it was that said this to me.
People, my relatives, I have returned to you! People, my

relatives, I have become yours again! People, my relatives, do ye rejoice! People, my relatives, on both (your and my) sides it has become pleasant again!
From below the east towards me it has become pleasant again, from below the south towards me it has become pleasant again, from below the west towards me it has become pleasant again, from below the north towards me it has become pleasant again!
With things pleasant in front of me I shall travel about, with things pleasant in my rear I shall travel about, with things pleasant below me I shall travel about, with things pleasant above me I shall travel about, with all my surroundings in nice shape I shall travel about, with nice (speech) proceeding from my mouth I shall be traveling about.
In the form of long life and happiness I shall be traveling about, I have changed into long life, happiness again, pleasant again it has become, pleasant again it has become, pleasant again it has become.[12]

Younger Brother's Sky Adventures
From Big Star Way (Sǫ Tsohǰí), Eagle Way (Átséǰí), and Bead Way (Yoo'ii)

Younger Brother began thinking of all the things that had happened to Elder Brother. He decided that his brother needed a ceremony. The next day he set out to visit Big Snake (Tl'iish tsoh) and begged him to sing over his brother. Big Snake replied that it was impossible. "But," he said, "go and visit the Winds. Perhaps one of them will be able to sing over your brother."

Younger Brother set out to find the Winds, and Coyote went with him. After a short distance, Coyote asked Younger Brother to help him obtain some eagle feathers. He said, "If you will help me get the eagle feathers, I will go and get the medicine man. I know him well." When they got to the Eagle Rock (Tsé etah), south of Zuni, Younger Brother climbed up the rock. When Younger Brother reached the Eagles' nest, Coyote began to blow on the rock. Each time he blew, the rock grew taller and taller. Finally Younger Brother found himself stranded in the nest high above the ground at the very edge of the sky. Coyote snickered and hurried off to Younger Brother's home, where he took the husband's place in the family.

Younger Brother was very sad about his fate. The Eagles told him to make an offering of mixed powdered jewels (nitl'iz). After

he did so, he found that he could step out of the nest and walk across the Sky World. He traveled for a while and came upon a hunting party. Its leader, Chief of Game, decided to let him stay. The longer he stayed with these people, however, the more strange things he noticed. After each hunt, the women would prepare only a little meat. The meal was always many times greater than the meat that had gone into it. Younger Brother wondered where all the meat for such a big meal came from. As they set out for their next camp, Younger Brother ran up the trail and hid himself. Soon the Chief of Game came along, followed by many deer and antelope. Then Younger Brother knew that the Chief of Game was using his magic to change the Game People into their animal forms. This way they could carry all the meat they needed under their skins!

Soon they arrived at the home of Eagle Chief, Chief of Game's brother. The Chiefs told Younger Brother not to leave the house. But he soon tired of staying indoors and felt the urge to explore and hunt. After walking some distance the next morning, he came to a group of four houses around a very large plaza. At the black house, the people told him, "The house you are now in belongs to the Great Black Star (Sǫ́ tsoh). The other inner houses are also filled with Star People. They are all dressed in flints of their own colors." Younger Brother then asked about the outer square of houses around those of the Star People. "Those houses," they said; "belong to the Hunting Bird People, the Eagles and Hawks." When the Black Star People saw that he was growing homesick, they told him, "Don't go back to the place where you first came up on the rock, for it is not yet safe for you to return. Wait until we teach you our knowledge and make you strong."

Younger Brother soon determined to set out for adventure. When he came to the house of the Eagles, he overheard them planning a raid on the Black Star People. But the Eagles would not let him join the raid, so he could only climb to a hilltop and watch the fight the next day. As the Eagles crossed a plain, they were suddenly attacked by swarms of Bees. The Bees flew under the Eagles' feathers, stinging some of the birds to death and badly wounding others. When at last the birds give up their attack, Younger Brother followed the Bees back to their underground home. There he killed many of them with a medicine he had made of a sacred herb (ch'il dilyésii). He then returned to the field of

battle and restored all the Eagles to life and health. For payment he received some "living" down (hiiná bitsós).

The next day he found himself in a similar battle between the Hawks and the Wasps. The day after, there was a battle with the Wrens. Then he headed north to visit the Great Eagles. He found them planning a raid against the Black Star People. The next morning, however, the Great Black Star sent hundreds of prickly tumbleweeds (tl'oh deinayísii) whirling against the Eagles. In this way, they were driven off.

After this Younger Brother returned to the Great Black Star (Sọ tsoh), told him of all his adventures, and offered him some of the down. Sọ tsoh was very glad to get these feathers and thanked Younger Brother. He told him that all the medicines he had collected and used to cure the Eagles and the Hawks would also cure Earth-Surface People. Most important, he said, "Remember that during the war with the stinging insects you were always guided by the Spirit Wind (Níyol biyázhí). He told you what was the right thing to do. When you return to earth, he will no longer whisper in your ear as he did up here. Instead he will go inside you. He will speak to you in your dreams or by pricking your throat or twitching your nerves or popping your ears. Pay attention to these signals, for it will not be so easy to hear him down there." Then the Great Star told Younger Brother how to interpret his dreams and gave him some fat and a star as gifts.

When Younger Brother returned to his home, he found the hogan deserted. As he started to build a fire, a sound came in his throat. He recognized it as a signal from the Spirit Wind. He waited, then heard a noise. It said, "Four years ago your wife and children were taken south from this place by Coyote. Do not worry, for you shall be guided to them."

After passing several abandoned hogans, Younger Brother finally found his family. They were living in a hogan that reeked of Coyote's filthy presence. Coyote said that he wanted to remain with the family. Younger Brother responded, "All right, then, but you will have to eat this fat I have brought back first." Coyote eagerly swallowed the delicious fat that Younger Brother had brought back from the Sky World. He did not know that the Great Star had been wrapped inside of it. As the fat dissolved in Coyote's stomach, the Star expanded. Soon Coyote began to run around and around, howling in pain. Eventually he fell dead at the entrance to the hogan.

The Twins' Earth-Surface Adventures

From Water Way (Tó'ji), Excess Way (Azilniiji), and Navajo Wind Way (Diné Biniłch'iji)

After he had repaid Coyote for his trickery, Younger Brother set out to find his Elder Brother. Because of the knowledge he had gained among the birds, Younger Brother soon became an excellent bird trapper. He always used down to line his sleeping place.

Eventually he wandered to Mount Taylor (Tsoodził), where a new ceremony was being held. The people laughed at him and called him "Hogan of Down Man" (Atsos Bee Hoghani). Down seemed to cling to everything about him. "Make fun," Younger Brother said, but tomorrow I will go to Aztec. There I will take for my wives two beautiful virgins who have never been touched by Sunlight (Doo Bik'i'diidládii)." At this everyone laughed even harder. No matter how beautiful such girls were known to be, taking one for a wife, let alone two, was an impossible task.

Nevertheless the next morning Younger Brother left the medicine hogan and went to the top of Mount Taylor. There he dressed himself in the plumage of Woodpecker (Tsin yikaii). On his way down the mountain, he took the forms of many different kinds of birds. In the form of a Rock Wren, he flew to the house of the girls in Aztec and sat on their windowsill. As they looked up from weaving to admire him, he changed into a beautiful butterfly (k'alógii). Then he enchanted them by changing from a black and yellow butterfly into a black and white one. Then he became a yellow and red one. As they were standing in awe, he flew over their heads and sprinkled many different pollens, which cast a spell on them. Then he changed to an entirely red butterfly and flew out the window. Entranced by the colors and the pollen, the girls followed him out to a cornfield. There they found him in his human form as Younger Brother.

Together the three started back toward his camp. The people of the Pueblo, who were angry at him for what he had done, set out after them. Younger Brother then escaped with the two girls to the Sky World. The Lightning People (Ii'ni'Dine'é) taught him ceremonies and gave him the name Lightning Boy (Ii'ni ashkii), but he and the girls soon grew homesick. So the three went back to his camp. But the girls soon complained about his camp, too, saying that they did not like the food of birds or the down, which

was everywhere. Then Younger Brother decided he should leave the complaining women and strike out on his own again.

After some days' travel, he returned to camp and found that someone had stolen his two wives. As he searched for them, he soon came across Spider, who told him that White Butterfly (K'álogii l'gai) had taken the girls. As he continued on, Younger Brother found Toad (Ch'ał) hoeing his cornfield. Toad gave his hoe to Younger Brother, saying that he would need it in a fight that he would have with White Butterfly. "You must use my hoe instead of White Butterfly's magic axe," he told Younger Brother. "That magic axe returns to destroy its thrower."

When Younger Brother approached the house of White Butterfly, he sent Whippoorwill ahead to cast White Butterfly into a deep sleep. Whippoorwill did so by showering White Butterfly with his scale-like feathers. When White Butterfly awoke, he was surprised to see Younger Brother standing in front of him. Though very angry, he pretended to be friendly. "Let us gamble together as friends," Butterfly offered. But whether it was spearing a hoop or throwing a ball through a hole, Younger Brother won every game. This only angered White Butterfly more, though he still pretended not to be angry. "You are so good at these games, and yet no one has ever beaten me in a race. Shall we run against each other?" Butterfly asked. For a long time the race was even, but then Younger Brother started moving out in front. Then Butterfly began to shoot arrows at Younger Brother's neck, hips, knees, and ankles. Warned by Spirit Wind, Younger Brother turned the arrows back against their sender. In this way, he dashed across the finish line, the winner. White Butterfly painfully hobbled across, crippled by his own arrows.

"I am defeated and as good as dead," the Butterfly said. "You might as well finish me off with my own stone axe." But Toad had warned Younger Brother about this treachery. So Younger Brother said, "I will do it only if you close your eyes." When Butterfly had closed his eyes, Younger Brother picked up the hoe Toad had given him instead of Butterfly's axe. He brought the hoe down heavily, splitting White Butterfly's skull. With a loud fluttering sound, thousands of moths suddenly flew out of the skull.

As the moths filled the heavens, Younger Brother saw his two wives reappear. They had been freed from their captivity by the death of White Butterfly. But Younger Brother remembered the

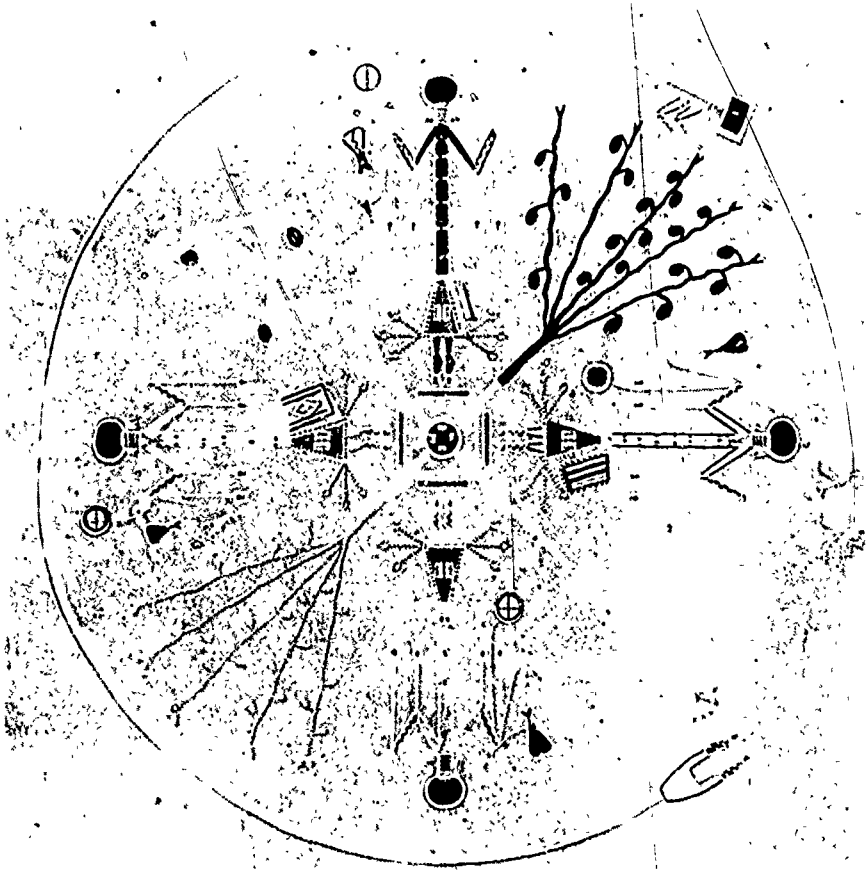
women's grumblings. He remembered the family he had let slip into Coyote's hands when he first went to the sky. Most of all he remembered his search for his brother. So he turned away and left the women. As he headed homeward, he looked back over his shoulder. The thousands of moths were returning to earth as drops of rain.

Younger Brother found Elder Brother hunting deer on a ridge covered with bulging sagebrush. Though this was forbidden territory, the two continued to hunt. Finally Elder Brother killed a large buck; Younger Brother got a doe. After they had butchered the animals, they began to roast them over the coals. Younger Brother helped himself to the plentiful meat, but Elder Brother took up the big intestine of the deer and began to eat it. Younger Brother noticed that it seemed to be alive as it wiggled down his brother's throat. After the meal, they quickly fell asleep. But, during the night, Elder Brother awoke, groaning and writhing by the fire. By sunrise Elder Brother had been transformed into a Big Snake. Younger Brother returned home for help. Offerings were made to the Winds, especially to Dark Wind, and they came to the place where Elder Brother lay twisted in pain. Each of the Winds brought a hoop of its own color. As Elder Brother passed through each of the hoops, more and more of the Snake's skin came off. At last Elder Brother was entirely free of it.

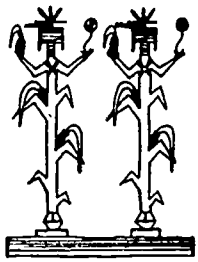
Elder Brother, however, still had not learned to avoid forbidden territory. Walking through a sacred place, he heard a noise behind him and turned around just in time to see a whirlwind rush by him. It knocked him to the ground. Angered at this, the Elder Brother drew his bow and shot at the whirlwind. But, as the arrow passed through it, the dust disappeared and a human form fell to the ground. Elder Brother ran up to the form, who was really Whirlwind Boy, and pulled out his arrow. Then Elder Brother set off again, but he had not gone far when another, greater whirlwind attacked him. This wind twisted him into the ground up to his neck.

When Elder Brother did not return, Younger Brother was sent out after him. When the youth found Elder Brother, only his face, painted white and yellow and covered with sparkling dust, remained above ground. Younger Brother made offerings to all the Winds, especially Dark Wind. The Winds came and pried Elder Brother out of the ground with their long flints. Then Elder Brother was placed on an unwounded buckskin. Talking God

stood on one side; Calling God, on the other. Pollen was sprinkled over Elder Brother. Through the power of Talking God and Calling God, he was restored.



The Place of the Whirling Logs (Tsin Na'eelii, To Aheedli) is told of in the Feather Way. It is also spoken of in the Cub Branch of the Mountain Way, from which this sandpainting comes. In the painting, four Yéi'ii stand on rainbow rafts near the Lake Where the Waters Cross. Each guards the plants to his left: the White Yéi'ii of the East watches over corn, the Blue Yéi'ii of the South takes care of beans, the Yellow Yéi'ii of the West cares for squash, and the Black Yéi'ii of the North guards tobacco. Bluebirds protect the opening at the east, and the Rainbow Guardian surrounds the Yéi'ii. Photograph from Washington Matthews, The Mountain Chant: A Navajo Ceremony, *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1887), pl. xvii.*



IV. ASDZĄ́ NÁÁDLEEHÍ BIDINE'É: CHANGING WOMAN'S PEOPLE

Elder Brother's Sky Adventures

From Hail Way (Nlóhjí), Flint Way (Bééshee Bik'aa'jí), and Male Shooting Way (Na'atóii Biką́'jí)

Traveling once again, Elder Brother came to a place called Shining House. Inside he found a beautiful girl. He stayed with her that night, not knowing that she was really White Thunder's wife. After that, Elder Brother found it difficult to hunt. Each time he came near a mountain sheep, he could draw his bow, but he could not shoot. It was as if he were frozen. The fourth time he tried, he was able to release the arrow. Though he did not see it hit its mark, the mountain sheep fell dead before him. Examining the animal, he found that its horn was marked with Zigzag Lightning and its left eye was missing. When he finished butchering the animal, a severe thunderstorm came over him. Lightning struck the very tree that had sheltered him. The explosion scattered branches everywhere. When the smoke cleared away from the burned stump, Elder Brother was missing.

When Talking God told the family what had happened, they immediately sent for Black Yéí'ii. He told them how to make the proper offerings to Gila Monster. Then they set out together to find Elder Brother. Gila Monster trailed behind, looking for medicines.

When they came to the lightning-shattered tree, Gila Monster sent the Winds to search for Elder Brother's flesh. He also sent the Ants to find the scattered drops of his blood. Gila Monster gave specific peoples the duties of restoring Elder Brother's different parts. The Vegetation People were to restore his body parts; the Spider People, his nerves; and the Sun, his eyes and ears. The Moon would restore his body hair; the Darkness People, the hair on his head. The Dawn People would restore his face; Talking God and Pollen Boy, his mind; and Cornbeetle Girl, the movement of his legs.

Starting from each end of his body, the people worked towards

each other. They completed the restoration at his heart. Gila Monster then called on Thunder. With a crash of Lightning, he restored movement to the body. While the Small Deer People prepared a stretcher, the Winds rushed through Elder Brother's body, restoring movement to its interior. Some of the Spider and Weaver People helped with the stretcher, while others knitted together the pieces of Elder Brother's body. Finally, the Small Deer People presented the completed stretcher to Gila Monster. He carefully placed Elder Brother on it and said a long pollen prayer over him.

Elder Brother returned home on the stretcher, but his recovery was incomplete. All agreed that another ceremony was needed. They asked Gila Monster if he would sing over Elder Brother again. Gila Monster said that all the Holy People should come for a Dark Circle of Flints or Flint Way ceremony. They all assembled. Then they painted Elder Brother with red clay and marked his chin with charcoal. Gila Monster ordered a circle-spiraling dance to bring back Elder Brother's life force to the present world. He concluded by telling all present that Abalone Woman and Horned Chief had power over the medicines of Flint Way. Then he announced that Elder Brother was completely restored. He also warned Elder Brother that Thunder still planned to harm him. But when the People saw the Cranes walking unharmed on the circle of flints, they knew Elder Brother would be safe, for they knew the Cranes had power over Water and Thunder.

Shortly after Elder Brother resumed his adventures, a severe thunderstorm threatened him. But this time, when the Lightning struck, it did not shatter him. Instead it carried him to a lake in the sky home of the Thunders. Elder Brother saw the sandpainting of the Home of the Thunders open up. It uncovered a deep hole guarded by Zigzag and Straight Lightning and by Sunray and Rainbow. At the bottom sat White Thunder. "The fact is," White Thunder told Elder Brother, "you have disobeyed again. You have been sent here for further instruction." But White Thunder's People soon lost interest in Elder Brother, for Dark Thunder was coming toward the place where they were seated, and he was ready for war.

It seems that Behwochídii had gathered together his Dark Thunders of Summer and armed them with arrows and shields. He hoped to free Elder Brother from White Thunder. At the

On the eighth morning of this Red Ant Way Ceremony, the patient has "entered" the sandpainting. Wristlets are tied around his arms and bandoliers are placed across his chest for woltáád. His face has been painted with bands of blue, black, and white. A chant token has been tied to his hair. The prayersticks have been placed in the basket in front of the singer. A Charlotte I. Johnson photograph, from Leland C. Wyman, The Red Antway of the Navaho *(Santa Fe: Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, copyright 1965), p. 272, reprinted by permission of the Wheelwright Museum.*

council for this war, Changing Woman had refused to let Monster Slayer and Born for Water be war chiefs. She knew they would certainly destroy everything. So Behwochídii had been granted the command. He led the Dark Thunders of the South to war against the White Thunders of the North. For eleven days they fought. After all the death and destruction, no one had won, so Behwochídii brought all the forces back to life. Neither side gained a clear victory until Behwochídii called in Caterpillar and Tree Borer. They shattered White Thunder's weapons of ice.

Then Talking God and Calling God prevented further bloodshed. They forced both sides to enter into a council of peace and healing. Bat (Jaa'abáni) was appointed to make peace with White Thunder, and Black Yéí'ii went with him. When they reached White Thunder's home, they found him seated on his place of crossed sticks. He became violent and threatened the messengers of peace. But when Black Yéí'ii showered him with burning stars, he quickly accepted their peace offerings.

They agreed to meet in four days for a medicine council to heal those hurt in the war. "What about Elder Brother?" Bat asked. "He was sent here to learn many things," White Thunder

replied. "He will be sung over at the ceremony. That way he will learn the songs and paintings of the place where the Wind, Hail, Water, and Female and Mountain Shooting Ways meet." White Thunder was chosen to sing over Elder Brother. After the ceremony, the Yéí'ii transported Elder Brother back to Mount Taylor. They told him to go straight home from there.

After returning home, Elder Brother wandered for a time with his family. One morning his sister called him to come to the top of a small hill. From there they could see many Buffalo. He set out to hunt them, but he couldn't kill any. Each time he got close enough for an ambush, he couldn't shoot. One night, as he slept, two women came to his camp. They took off their buffalo robes, sat down beside him, and spent the night with him. In the morning, when he awoke, he was weak and in pain. The women gathered medicine plants from places where Buffalo had lain. From this they prepared a meal. Then they clothed him in a buffalo-hide robe. This transformed him into a Buffalo, and he traveled off with them.

They told him that the heads of the Buffalo People, Abalone Woman (who was really a man), Buffalo Woman, Horned Chief, and Buffalo Calf, had sent for him. When they reached the camp of the Buffalo People at Wide River, Abalone Woman began to go mad. It seems that one of the two women who had spent the night with Elder Brother was Abalone Woman's wife. The chief showed his fury by charging and killing all but the chief Buffalos, but still he had not satisfied his rage. He charged at Elder Brother, but the young man had surrounded himself with four sacred mountains of earth, and the Buffalo Chief wasted all his energy trying to destroy these. The fourth time the Buffalo Chief charged, Elder Brother slew him.

The father of the chief approached Elder Brother and begged him for the Buffalo Chief's life. Elder Brother showed him how to remove the arrows and restore the Buffalo to life. In the distance, however, circling buzzards showed that one Buffalo still lay dead. When Elder Brother reached the carcass, he withdrew the arrows and sang this song:

> Getting up, getting up is to be, *halagai* . . .
> Abalone Woman, what has happened to your young one? . . .
> What he replaces his nerves, when he causes you to move, when he handles you, when he seats you, when he

stands you in position, when he causes you to walk,
when he slows you down? . . .
Now dark medicine, when this he eats, living medicine,
when this he eats . . .
Now long life, happiness, when this he eats,
getting up is to be, getting up is to be, *halagai*. . . .[13]

This restored the dead Buffalo, who turned out to be Buffalo Woman. Because of Elder Brother's favor, she promised, the Buffalo would always return.

He stayed with the Buffalo People for some time. As they were about to cross Wide River into their homeland, however, Little Wind warned him not to stay with them. If he did, he would always have to keep the buffalo form he then wore. So Elder Brother started back toward his home. While he was on the way to Black Mountain, Talking God appeared and restored his human form. Then Elder Brother went to the canyon where Talking God lived, returned the prayer plume he had been given for protection, and headed home.

Younger Brother's Adventures beneath the Waters
From Male Shooting Way (Na'atóii Bikąʼjí) and Feather Way (Atsos)

While Elder Brother had been away among the Thunders and the Buffalo People, Younger Brother had stayed at home. Each day he would go to the edge of the river, where he had burned down a cottonwood tree. There he worked to hollow out the tree so that he could lie within it. On the thirteenth day, the day when he saw his Elder Brother taken into the sky by the Thunders, Younger Brother did not return home in the evening. Four days later, Talking God came and took Younger Brother to the river. He was placed in the log, and then Monster Slayer, Born For Water, Shooting Yéíʼii, and Water Sprinkler prayed over him. Two Calling Gods, two Mountain Sheep Yéíʼii (Ghąąʼaskʼidii) and two Fringe Mouth Yéíʼii (Dzahodoolzhahii) were to guide him on a journey. Then he set out to float down the river.

The first obstacle he encountered was a dam, where he was required to make an offering before he could pass. Then a number of Water Creatures held up the log until offerings had been made and Talking God and Water Sprinkler pleaded for him. Once the hollow log stuck in the rocks at the brink of a waterfall. The Thunders were called for help, and they freed the

log. Another time the log stuck in the mud flats, and Water Sprinkler was called. He poured down water from the sky, the river rose, and the log floated free. Still another time, the log wedged in the roots of trees planted by some Yéí'ii. After offerings were made, however, the Yéí'ii removed the trees, and the log continued on.

Finally the log came to a lake surrounded by cliffs. This was the home of the Water Fringe Mouth Yéí'ii (Tha'tladze Dzahodoolzhahii). They unrolled a painting of the Sprinkler Yéí'ii, scattered cornmeal, and directed Younger Brother to move onto the painting. There he sat down and prayed. At that moment, a Fringe Mouth Yéí'ii and a Shooting Yéí'ii arrived. The sacred power of their presence was so great that Younger Brother began to shake violently. The Chief of the Fringe Mouths restored Younger Brother by singing over him, by applying a mountain-sheep horn to his body, and by burning cornmeal as incense. He was given several songs at the time, but the Chief of the Fringe Mouths told him that he should visit Calling God if he wished to gather more songs. Calling God lived in an underwater home on the other side of the lake. In his house, Younger Brother was shown the Rows of Talking Gods and Water Sprinklers picture and the Many Dancers picture. Calling God also gave him some medicine and said a pollen prayer for him.

When he came up from Calling God's home, Younger Brother looked out across the lake. In the center of the lake were logs in the form of a cross. The cross whirled about on the surface of the water. From the ends of the logs grew beautiful stalks of corn. Next to the corn sat Holy People, singing, "You have come for my sake." The logs circled the lake four times, finally reaching the western shore. When the Holy People left their places on the whirling logs and entered their house, Younger Brother followed them. The Holy People welcomed Younger Brother to the Place of the Whirling Logs (Tsin Na'eełii, To Aheedli) and showed him the beautiful Whirling Logs sandpainting.

When he told them that he had come to learn ritual knowledge, they showed him how to make frost medicine and sing the Tsin Na'eełii songs. Then they made a new sandpainting even more beautiful than the first.

First they laid out the Whirling Logs, radiating from a central sacred lake. Between the logs, they placed stalks of squash, tobacco, beans, and corn. Finally they enclosed the whole painting with the Rainbow.

After they had shown him the paintings, they taught him many songs. They also reminded him of the high purpose for which this knowledge was meant. As they left, Lightning shot up out of the lake to announce their coming. Younger Brother traveled with the Holy People on the Whirling Logs to the place where his hollow log was beached. When he turned away to leave them, he saw that his pet Turkey had followed him all the way along the shore. Tired from their trip, they both lay down. Turkey covered him with his wing, and they fell fast asleep.

The next morning, Younger Brother and Turkey discovered a lush green meadow. Four streams flowed into it from each direction. Two Talking Gods and two Calling Gods then appeared to him. "Could it be that you have been thinking of making a farm in this place?" they asked. "Yes," he answered, "but I have no seed to plant." Turkey quickly ran to each horizon and returned with seeds of corn, squash, melon, and beans. These Younger Brother planted in the first farm. He sang the first Farm Songs as he set up scarecrows about the edges of the field:

The corn grows up. The waters of the dark clouds drop, drop.
The rain descends. The waters from the corn leaves drop, drop.
The rain descends. The waters from the plants drop, drop.
The corn grows up. The waters of the dark mists drop, drop.[14]

And:

Since the ancient days, I have planted,
Since the time of the emergence, I have planted,
The great corn-plant, I have planted,
Its roots, I have planted,
The tips of its leaves, I have planted,
Its dew, I have planted,
Its tassel, I have planted,
Its pollen, I have planted,
Its silk, I have planted,
Its seed, I have planted.

Since the ancient days, I have planted,
Since the time of emergence, I have planted,
The great squash vine, I have planted,
Its seed, I have planted,

Its silk, I have planted,
Its pollen, I have planted,
Its tassel, I have planted,
Its dew, I have planted,
The tips of its leaves, I have planted,
Its roots, I have planted.[15]

After that he cultivated the farm carefully, and four days later he gathered the first fruits. Water Sprinkler appeared and told him how to cook these vegetable foods. He also showed him how to smoke tobacco and how to pick the corn when the first Lightning appeared.

Later, Talking God and Calling God came to visit Younger Brother's farm. Each brought with him a son and a daughter. When their visit was about to end, Talking God's son could not be found. He had fallen ill in the cornfield. Talking God offered to show Younger Brother how to make sacred prayer sticks if Younger Brother would find and cure the boy. Younger Brother found Talking God's son, laid him on the ground, placed four ears of corn around him, and applied cornstalks to the boy. After Younger Brother gave the boy a medicine of corn to drink, the youth recovered..

The next day all the crops were harvested with the help of the Yéí'ii, who guessed that Turkey was responsible for the bountiful harvest. They asked Younger Brother if this were so. "It is true," he said. "He carries the white corn in his tail feathers and the blue corn about his neck. The yellow corn he hides in the small feathers above the tail and the mixed corn is on his wings. The squash he keeps under his right wing and the melons under his left wing. The tobacco is under his tail. The bean is kept in this little piece of flesh that stands on the top of his beak." The Holy People were much impressed with Younger Brother's pet.

The next day the Holy People returned to help with the husking. They built a harvest hogan for Younger Brother, and that night they held a Corn Vigil. They laid four whole stalks of different colored corn, complete with roots and ears, in the center of the hogan. Corn, they said, needs to be fed, just like man. But Corn should not be given human foods, such as corn; instead, it should be fed meat. Likewise, masks should not be fed flesh, but corn. To do otherwise would create cannibals. Indeed, just such a

thing happened once during a famine, when a woman fed corn to Corn. She became a cannibal. Her name is Asdza, the Ugly Woman, the Woman Who Dries People Up.

As time passed in the beautiful valley, Younger Brother grew lonely. One night he sighted a fire. After packing his whole harvest into four small bundles, he made his way to the distant camp. There the father of the family greeted him as "son-in-law." He offered the father some corn, but when the old man ate it, he immediately collapsed. He fell ill because he had never eaten corn before, only meat. The mother and daughter begged Younger Brother to restore him, which he did. In return the old man told Younger Brother that he would share his "game farm" with him. As they were about to settle down for the night, the daughter told him that her father was called Deer Raiser or Game Owner.

The next day Deer Raiser prepared Younger Brother for the trip to the game farm by dressing him in buckskins. Then he uncovered a hole in the ground. This led beneath the earth to a room with a rock-crystal door on each side. Behind each door, Younger Brother found a beautiful new land. Each door hid a country filled with flowers, birds, deer, antelope, mountain sheep, and elk. The old man showed him how to make the right offerings to each of these animals. In this way, Younger Brother could be sure that he would always have meat.

But the old man grew jealous of his daughter's affection for Younger Brother. He began to plot to destroy the guest who had brought the corn. One day the old man suggested that Younger Brother go hunting. Then he laid a false trail of deer tracks into a box canyon. There he had left his four pet bears with instructions to attack the Earth-Surface person. Younger Brother entered the canyon, but he killed all four of the bears. When he returned home, he saw the old man's shock at his safe return and his sorrow for the bears' death. Then he was sure that the evil father-in-law was a witch. The father-in-law confessed it but pleaded that he was a victim of an inner sickness. He asked Younger Brother to cure him. So Younger Brother did, using the songs, painting, and medicine he had received on his journey in the hollow log.

Then Younger Brother decided he could stay with these people no longer. He set out for home with his faithful Turkey trailing behind him. In this way, both farming and power over animals were brought to the People.

The Holy People Depart

From Blessing Way (Hozhǫ́ǫjí) and Male Shooting Way (Na'atóii Bikáji)

The two brothers traveled to the home of their mother, Changing Woman. She had settled in a new home on an island that the Sun had created in the western ocean. She showed her two sons the wealth of good things that the rooms in her house contained. Then she gave them their most important task. They were to be guardians of the medicine bundle she had received from First Man. This she gave to them, along with a whiteshell basket and a turquoise basket. They learned the Blessing Way songs and rituals. She also told them about the four sacred jewels and the offerings. Then she told them where to find her if they should ever need her again.

After this she spread out four sheets of whiteshell, turquoise, abalone, and jet. She took skin from her chest and shoulders. This she rubbed in her hand over the medicine bundles and four perfect ears of corn. From her own body, thus, she created four pairs of people. These were the first clans of the Navajo People. She placed them on blankets and covered them with Dawn, Evening Twilight, Rising Haze, Mirage, and Darkness. Then she began to create for them the good things of this world.

She created for them the medicine bundle containing soil from the four sacred mountains and from Huerfano Mountain and Gobernador Knob. She created for them the first of each type of this world's game animals. As she was working, she told them that different types of game were pets of different Talking Gods. For that reason, the People must make offerings before taking the animals. Then Changing Woman mixed Earth Mirage and Earth Haze together and sprinkled it with water. This she poured on the ground. From the spots of wet earth, sheep and goats sprang up for the People. Then she opened the doors of her house in all four directions. From these, horses of different colors ran to the places Changing Woman had assigned them. There, she said, the People could find them easily. Then she offered the People food to eat while she called the Holy People to assemble.

When the Holy People had gathered, the medicine bundle was brought out. The eight-word song was sung in praise of Earth, Sky, Mountain Woman, Water Woman, White Corn, Yellow Corn, Pollen, and Cornbeetle. Talking God and Calling God tested the two brothers on all they had learned and told them to preserve the medicine bundle most carefully. Then, as a final

blessing, they touched pollen to the brothers and made a pollen path for them.

As the Holy Ones prepared to leave, the two brothers heard the birds call to them from atop the sacred mountains. At the very last, the People were told that, though the Holy Ones were departing, they would always be present. The People could see their outer forms in the mountains, corn, birds, water, and so on. As the Sun painted a streak of White Dawn against the turquoise sky, the Holy People lined up, facing the four directions. Then they took their leave of the People, singing:

'ai ne ya. . . at dawn I go about, *ni yo o.*
Talking God, usually I am!
Now I have ascended Blanca Peak, I have ascended Chief Mountain.
I have ascended long life, I have ascended happiness.
Before me it is blessed where I go about,
Behind me it is blessed where I go about,
As that I continue to go about,
At dawn I go about, *ni yo o.*

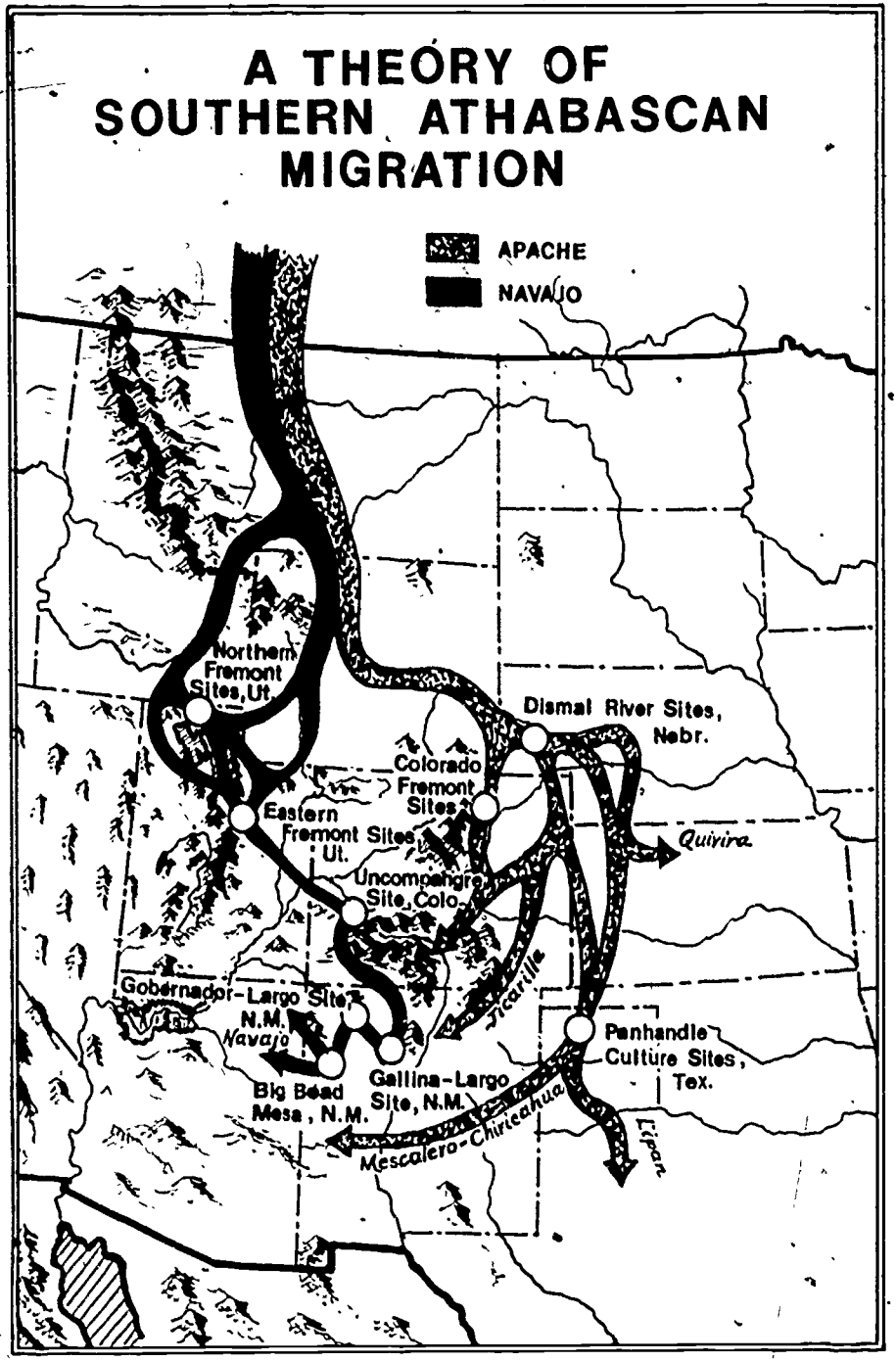
At dawn I go about, as that I go about, *ni yo o.*
Calling God, usually I am!
I have ascended Mount Taylor, I have ascended Chief Mountain . . . .[16]

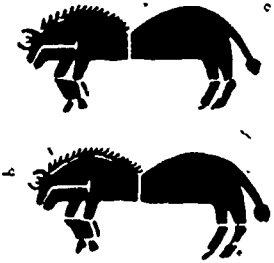
And so it was sung for each of the four sacred mountains to which the Holy People departed.

The two brothers stayed with the People another day and a night. They taught them all the ceremonies, songs, and paintings they had learned. Through them the People would have power in this world. Turning to the animals, the Twins told them all to represent the Holy People with kindness. Finally the brothers promised the People that they would all meet again in the home of the Holy People.

After this, Elder Brother and Younger Brother said farewell to the People. Then they rose into the sky to join Changing Woman, Talking God, Calling God, and all the other Holy Ones. One of the first of the People, hearing a bluebird singing, spoke for all. "For but a time, we saw the Holy Ones face to face. They walked among us on our land. Now they have only left their outer forms behind. Let us remember them and grow with the knowledge they have gained for us."

A THEORY OF SOUTHERN ATHABASCAN MIGRATION





V. KÉYAH SÁNÍ: THE SEARCH FOR DINÉTAH

The People's Journeys – An Introduction

The Navajos emerged from the lower worlds onto an island in the middle of a lake surrounded by tall and beautiful mountains. That lake, say the stories, lies somewhere in the north. And modern science has agreed, at least in part, with this Navajo tradition. In 1852, it was shown that the Navajos speak an Athabascan language. Athabascan is the name given to a group or "family" of related languages found mostly in Canada and Alaska. With that discovery, scholars began to accept the idea that the People came from the north.

Navajo tradition gives a number of clues to this northern origin. Many Navajo stories do not resemble those of the Pueblos who surround the modern Navajos. But similar stories can be found among tribes in Canada, Washington, Idaho, and the Northern Plains. Even the Navajo origin story is different from those of other southwestern peoples. Of all such stories, only that of the Navajo admits that the People were not the first to live in the land they now occupy. Instead it says that the Pueblos, or Kiis'ánii, were there to greet the People when they came out.

But when and how the Navajos and Apaches came from Canada to the Southwest is not certain. Some scientists say that the Navajos moved through the High Plains and entered the Southwest about A.D. 1525. These scientists think that the Navajos were hunters who followed the buffalo down from Canada. Evidence from some ancient sites in the western Plains tends to support this point of view. These old camps, called the "Dismal River Sites," seem to have been used by Athabascans. The people who made these camps lived in earth lodges, made a special kind of pottery, and hunted buffalo.

Other scientists disagree. They think the People may have come to Dinétah, the southwest Navajo homeland, much earlier than A.D. 1525 and that they could have followed an intermountain route. These scholars point out that pottery like that found at the Dismal River sites is also found throughout an area from

eastern Colorado to Promontory, Utah, near the Great Salt Lake. Athabascans, these scholars argue, seem to have favored mountain sites. Because of that, the mountain trails would have caused few problems for the People, who might even have preferred them to the Plains routes. Also, the People would not have needed to stay on the Plains to hunt buffalo. As late as the beginning of the last century, buffalo roamed across Colorado and into northern Utah.

An early arrival of the People could answer other puzzles, too. As more than one scientist has pointed out, the complex Navajo religion could only have come about through long contact between the People and the Pueblos. If the People did not arrive until A.D. 1525, there would not have been enough time for such a complex religion to develop. Also, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Anasazi peoples of the Southwest built dwellings that came to look more and more like forts. Then, about A.D. 1300, the Anasazi left these homes. Pressure from Athabascan neighbors might help to explain these things. But most scholars have not accepted this intermountain route. They point out that there were many reasons why the Anasazi moved out of the Four Corners area. Of those, the scholars argue, pressure from a competing culture was perhaps the least important.

Recently some scholars have suggested a third explanation. The Navajos, they say, could have reached the Southwest as early as A.D. 1000, traveling over a number of routes. George Hyde was the first to suggest this idea. He believed that a large group of migrating Athabascans split up somewhere in central Wyoming. Then, he stated, the Navajos traveled through the area near the Great Salt Lake. From there they crossed the Wasatch Mountains and went south through eastern Utah. The Jicarilla Apaches went around the eastern edge of the Uinta Mountains and then traveled across central Colorado into northern New Mexico. The Dismal River Apaches, ancestors of the Lipan Apaches, came down through the High Plains.

Of the three explanations, Hyde's seems the most reasonable. There is support for it in both Navajo tradition and recent studies of the Fremont Culture of Utah and Colorado. Between A.D. 400 and A.D. 1300, changes began to appear in the Fremont Culture. Most important, some Fremont peoples began to make a new kind of pottery. It has been found throughout eastern Utah and southwestern Colorado, near regions through which the Navajos might have traveled. The new pottery was made with calcite and

decorated as pottery on the Plains was. In some ways, it is much like older Navajo pottery. So perhaps the Athabascan peoples brought this way of making pots to the Fremont peoples they met on their journey. And there are other changes that could have come about as a result of contact between the two groups. Such things as barbed bone points and arrow heads, ground slate knives and pendants, and a Mexican type of corn also suggest a northern or Plains influence on local Fremont groups.

Navajo stories contain some clues that also tend to support this idea of an early arrival. In the 1890s, Hataalii Nez said that the Navajos reached the Southwest when Kin Ntéél was being built. One of the clans, he added, joined the People later, when Kin Ntéél was in ruins. Kin Ntéél has been identified as Chetro Ketl, a ruin in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico. It was built about A.D. 1000 and abandoned by A.D. 1300. Other Navajos have identified the Home of the Flints as the Sun Temple at Mesa Verde, Colorado. This was built about the same time as Chetro Ketl. These clan and chantway stories suggest that the People came to the Southwest early, perhaps as early as A.D. 1000.

Out of the North

We can imagine the first of the Athabascan speakers walking down from the north. They may have started to leave Canada by about A.D. 400. They came in small family bands. They did not think of themselves as Navajos or Apaches. They were simply families of Diné, or the People. Several hundred years before, their distant kinsmen had migrated south through the Columbia Plateau into California. Others had gone east to the edge of Hudson Bay. The direct ancestors of the Navajos and the Apaches were the last to move. No one knows why they left Canada, except that the People loved to travel and to explore, even then.

Some early trailblazers may have come down the Snake River and reached the northern end of the Great Salt Lake by A.D. 500. The main group worked its way down the east slope of the Montana Rockies to the Yellowstone and Bighorn rivers. Here some of the People left the main group and moved out onto the Plains north and east of the Colorado Rockies. They would become the Apaches. In the mountains, they hunted deer. On the Plains, they surrounded buffalo as they had surrounded herds of caribou in the Far North. The northern Plains peoples had taught them about different types of corn and pottery. Some of these things

were unknown in the new lands toward which the People were heading.

The People brought with them a religion based on the shaman, or medicine man. He healed people by finding and returning souls that had left their bodies or had been stolen away. On these soul-flights, he often went into convulsive trances. When he returned from the spirit world, he brought power for the People, as well as carrying back the soul of the sick person. The shaman knew the night sky very well. The stars marked the trail to the spirit world, and he studied their light for power. The shaman probably also guarded the medicine bundle of sacred stones, earths, bones, and feathers. He had charge of the masks of the deer and the buffalo that controlled the hunt. Much of this sacred knowledge is kept, even today, in the chants.

The People probably spread across the northwestern High Plains quickly. Between A.D. 600 and A.D. 800, some Navajos reached northern Utah and Colorado by going around both ends of the Uinta Mountains. The early Apaches arrived in southeastern Wyoming near the Black Hills. Here their journey slowed, as they met people who already occupied the land. Though they had brought shields and perhaps had already known war, the People were not ready to fight. They were too few in number. They had come in small groups of families, with only forty or fifty persons, at the most, in each group.

At first the People probably settled on the outskirts of Fremont settlements and lived like the local people. They traded pottery and showed the Fremont how to make the pointed-bottom calcite cooking pots. They also may have shared their special hunting skills with the Fremont people. Perhaps they even worshipped the Fremont gods. The Fremont people made images of these gods in stone and clay. In the end, some of the People probably married Fremont people. From the Fremont, the Athabascans learned more about how to grow the strange corn they had brought from the Plains. Though they never ceased to be hunters, they grew more and more corn. They also learned to make a different style of dwelling. This four-posted pithouse still survived in A.D. 1900 as a medicine lodge.

For about three hundred years, the People moved peacefully through Colorado and Utah. They crossed the Wasatch Mountains into the Uinta Basin. There they met kinsmen and slowly moved southward, crossing the Green River. Some moved onto the Uncompahgre Plateau, where they may have used stone to

build homes. These dwellings were like those of the Fremont people in many ways. But no adobe mortar was used to make them, and they were built in the round pattern of the North, not the rectangular pattern of the Southwest. When the People were on the move, they built walls to protect their brush shelters. In their camps, they built more permanent, carefully made shelters in caves of overhanging rock or against large boulders. As they pushed farther southeast, the People may have met the last of the Basketmaker people. Or they may have simply taken over the Basketmakers' old dwellings. These people lived in many-sided mud-covered log houses. In either case, a cribbed-log dwelling similar to the female hogan had been built in the Southwest before the People arrived.

Between A.D. 900 and A.D. 1000, the first kivas and the ceremonies that came with them bloomed in the Fremont and Anasazi areas. It is not known what the ceremonies involved. Probably they grew from rites to insure good crops and good hunting. They were concerned with changes in the climate and growing seasons. Cone-shaped "cloud-blower" pipes, "lightning stones," and quartz crystals show this concern. Rituals may have centered around a conical stone object called a *tiponi*. Some scholars think the *tiponi* may represent a perfect ear of corn, which would suggest the worship of a Corn Goddess. At this time, the Anasazi also made rock carvings that show the mountain sheep, which represented rain as well as the hunt. The humpbacked flute player, also linked with growth and rain, was common. And there were also horned, human-like figures in the Fremont rock carvings.

The Pueblo kachina religion seems to have started in this period. Clan systems formed, and the kiva religion grew more complex. The Navajos may have shared in these early kachina rites. If so, changes would have come about in their religion as well. The *tiponi* and the worship of a Corn Goddess may be related to Changing Woman. Perhaps contact with the Anasazi during this period influenced the Navajo Emergence story.

To the San Juan

The People continued to push south on the Uncompahgre Plateau. They found the upper San Juan region already inhabited. Their contacts with the peoples already in the San Juan area may not have been completely friendly. Many burned houses and stockaded towns have been found there. These ruins tell of war-

fare. The conflict could have been between early Pueblo groups. But at least one house found in the region was not very different from a Navajo hogan. Most of the burned homes were pithouses. In one of these houses, an entire family died. Later Father Haile wrote, "A Navajo distrusts an underground dwelling, saying, 'Why bury yourself alive?' " Perhaps this feeling came out of early conflicts that touched the People.

By A.D 1100, a culture called the Gallina-Largo had developed south and east of Gobernador Canyon. This was a settlement of early Jemez people, who may have been joined by the Navajos. The Gallina-Largo people had pointed-bottom pottery and a special type of axe. They made much use of antlers. Their buildings had some puebloan features but were not like those in the Four Corners region.

Further west, at Chaco Canyon, the pueblos built in open fields were being abandoned. The Anasazi began to build Pueblo Bonito, which came to look more and more like a fort. About A.D. 1300, the Great Pueblo was finally abandoned. The same thing happened in southwestern Colorado. There the peoples moved from mesa-top sites to larger and safer cliff dwellings like those at Mesa Verde. Towers were also built into the pueblos.

Conflict must have played a large part in these changes. Probably Pueblo farmers were attacked as they worked in their fields. Isolated groups and small settlements may have been raided, though it is unlikely that war parties ever tried to attack the larger cliff dwellings. In any case, by A.D. 1300 the Anasazi had left the Four Corners area. Some traveled east to build pueblos on the upper Rio Grande above Santa Fe. Others moved from the Four Corners, Canyon de Chelly, and Betatakin-Keet Siel to Black Mesa and became Hopis. At about the same time, the Fremont Culture disappeared from northern and eastern Utah. Though there was surely conflict, there is no proof that large-scale war caused the Anasazi to leave. And no one really knows who attacked the early Pueblos.

"Anasazi" is a Navajo word that means "ancient enemies," and some scholars have said that perhaps the People drove the early Pueblos out of the region. Other scholars have suggested that, not Navajos, but ancestors of the Utes and the Paiutes moved into the Four Corners and drove out the Anasazi. These newcomers did not enter the Virgin River country until about A.D. 1100. Then they spread rapidly into northern Nevada and Utah, perhaps

reaching northern Colorado by A.D. 1300. They tended to follow a northeastern path along the Wasatch Mountains. They moved east into the more rugged and less favored San Juan country at a slower pace.

Because they moved into the San Juan region slowly, these people were probably not in a position to pressure the Anasazi. More likely, they competed for the use of Athabascan hunting and gathering lands. In this way, they put pressure on the Navajos, who were between them and the Anasazi. This would have driven the Navajos into lands that were densely settled by Anasazi groups. Pressure from both groups could explain, in part, why the Anasazi withdrew from the area. It also may have set in motion the land conflicts between the Utes and Navajos that were to become serious later, in the Spanish period. This explanation of the conflict agrees with Navajo oral traditions that the People were in the Southwest when Chetro Ketl was built and, later, abandoned. It also fits with the belief that Flint Way was begun at the Sun Temple at Mesa Verde.

Navajo culture during this period is not well known. Small rites may have slowly grown into larger chantways like Flint Way and Male Shooting Way, Mountain Way, and Beauty Way at this time. These related chants use hunting and agricultural symbols in more equal numbers than later chants do. They feature Bear and Snake, who are some of the oldest figures in Navajo religion. One Navajo said that a group of chants began at the same time as Male Shooting Way near Mesa Verde. These included the Wind, Hail, Water, and Plume Ways. Enemy Way probably also developed at this time. It links the very old Monster Way stories brought from Canada with the later Mountain and Beauty Ways. Enemy Way may have come from a more basic war rite that was learned on the northern Plains and included painting the face black. Such a ritual shows that the Navajos' long journey included constant warfare.

After A.D. 1300, the Navajos roamed in small bands throughout the area of northeastern New Mexico and the Four Corners. Often they had to contest the La Plata Mountains with the Utes. Some of the Navajos' kinsmen, perhaps the ancestors of the Western Apaches, had also come down through the intermountain area. They lived in Arizona, east of the Colorado River and north of the Gila River. The Navajos and Apaches probably raided isolated settlements like Awatobi and the older, more remote Zuni

Pueblos. The Pueblos may have joined the Navajos during periods of drought, when crops failed. In turn the Navajos probably came to the Pueblos during hard winters, when game was scarce.

About A.D. 1400, a more complex type of kachina religion spread into Navajoland along the Rio Grande. It came from Mexico. The arrival of the Spaniards nearly destroyed this kachina religion in the northern Rio Grande Pueblos. In the western Pueblos like Hopi and Zuni, though, it stayed active and grew. The butterfly took on a new meaning as a sign of life and growth. Rock carvings show the mask of the Polik-Mana, the Butterfly Maiden Kachina. Perhaps the stories of White Butterfly and Younger Brother's many butterfly forms come from this time. They were included in the Water Way.

Dinétah

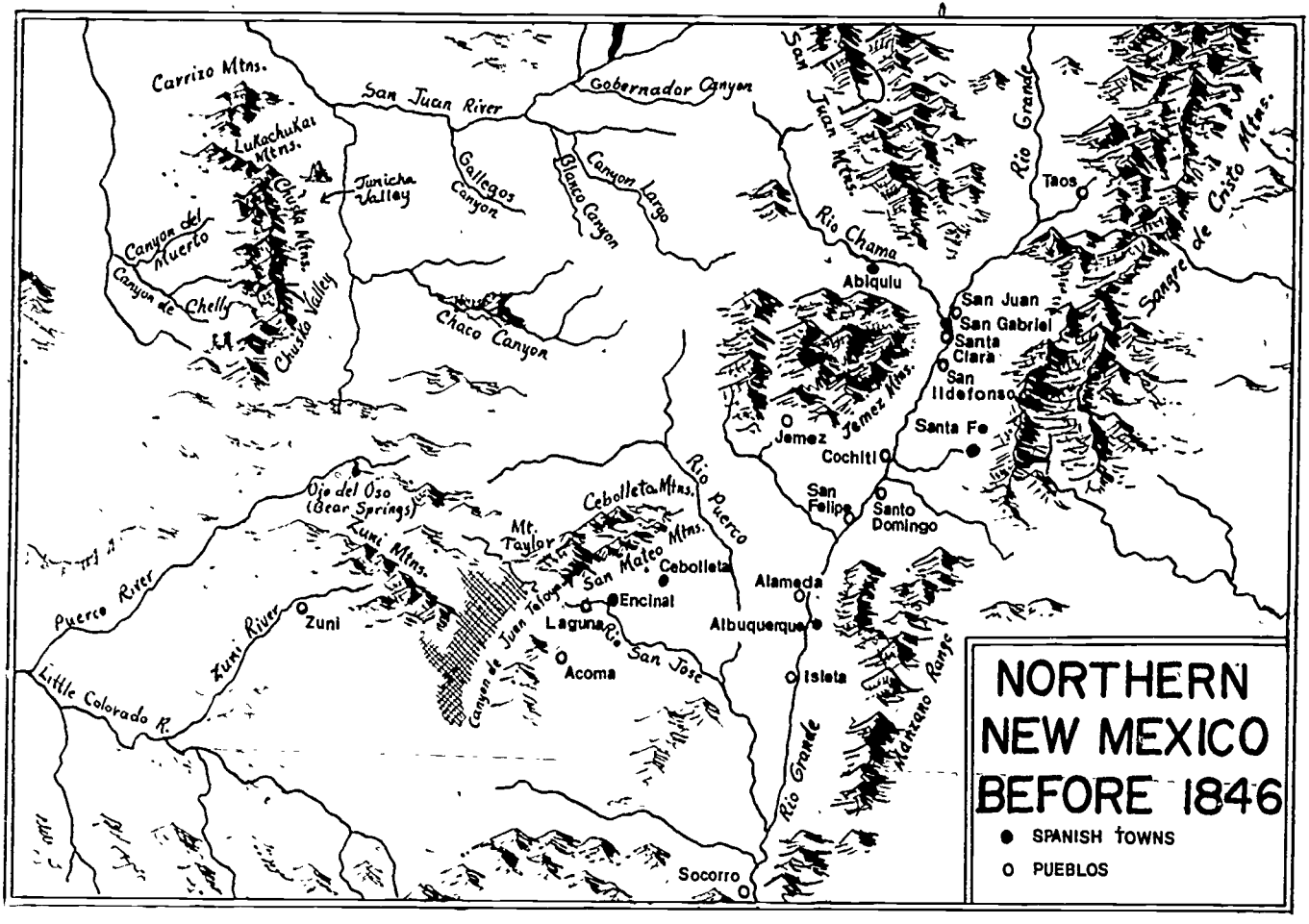
The oldest hogan sites found in the Southwest date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some are in the Four Corners and Gobernador areas. Others have been found in New Mexico on Chaco Mesa (in the northeast) and on Mariano Mesa (near Quemado). Oral tradition now names Gobernador as the Dinétah, or Navajo homeland. More likely, though, the People were living throughout the whole northwestern quarter of New Mexico when the Spaniards arrived. They probably spent most of their time on the mesa tops and in the mountains. They may have been as far west as the Chuskas, Lukachukai, and Canyon de Chelly.

The many events in the long journey from Canada to the Southwest changed the Athabascans. Today they are not one group, but many related peoples, different in language and culture. In terms of speech, the eastern group is composed of the Jicarilla and Lipan Apaches and the more remote Kiowa Apaches. The western group includes the Navajos and the Chiricahua, Mescalero, and Western Apaches. The language of the Western Apaches is closer to Navajo than to Chiricahua and Mescalero. The Western Apaches and the Navajos are alike in another way. Of the southern Athabascans, only they have true clan systems.

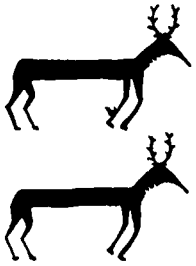
The Navajos themselves are a people of many clans. In 1890 Hataałii Nez could name at least thirty-eight clans. These were made up not only of Navajos and Apaches, but of other people as well. These clans included those of the Yumans (Havasupai and either Mohave or Walapai), Utes, and Mexicans. Pueblo clans came from Zuni, Acoma or Laguna, and the Pueblos east of the

Rio Grande, and probably from Hopi. There were also six other clans. To the Spaniards, and later the Americans, the large number of clans was confusing. Both groups thought only in terms of "Indians" or, at best, "Navajos." They did know how important a Navajo's clan really was.

When Coronado marched on Zuni in 1540, he saw smoke signals from the mesa and mountain tops around him. It is generally agreed that these were signs of Navajos. Later the People often joined Pueblo groups to fight the Spaniards. They seem to have had special, if unclear, ties with Zuni. At first, Spaniards saw only Navajo smoke signals. Unseen, curious Navajos watched the mounted troops from mesa tops. Soon, however, the "marchers" (Naakaii) and the Navajos would meet face to face.


Carrizo Mtns.
San Juan River
Gobernador Canyon
Lukachukai Mtns.
Chuska Mtns.
Tunicha Valley
Gallegos Canyon
Blanco Canyon
Canyon Largo
Canyon del Muerto
Canyon de Chelly
Chuska Valley
Chaco Canyon
San Juan Mtns.
Rio Chama
Rio Grande
Taos
Sangre de Cristo Mtns.
Abiquiu
San Juan
San Gabriel
Santa Clara
San Ildefonso
Jemez
Jemez Mtns.
Santa Fe
Cochiti
Rio Puerco
Ojo del Oso (Bear Springs)
Zuni Mtns.
Cebolleta Mtns.
Mt. Taylor
San Mateo Mtns.
Cebolleta
San Felipe
Santo Domingo
Alameda
Puerco River
Zuni River
Zuni
Encinal
Laguna
Albuquerque
Rio San Jose
Acoma
Isleta
Little Colorado R.
Manzano Range
Rio Grande
Socorro
NORTHERN NEW MEXICO BEFORE 1846
SPANISH TOWNS
PUEBLOS

VI. NAAKAIIŁBAHÍ NINÁÁDĄĄ': THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS



The First Spaniards

News of the whitemen who had invaded the regions far to the south reached New Mexico long before the strangers did. The Rio Grande was a natural route for news to travel. As word spread north, the Navajos and other northern Indians soon learned of the Spanish conquest of Mexico. By the mid-sixteenth century, Spaniards faced strong Indian resistance on the frontier. The sounds of battle, misery, and death echoed through the land, traveling north to Indians beyond the reach of Spanish arms. And by 1540 two Spanish parties had pushed far beyond the Mexican frontier, coming close enough to give the New Mexican Indians their first glimpse of these bold conquerors.

The Cabeza de Vaca group roamed west from the Gulf of Mexico, crossing the Rio Grande south of El Paso in 1535 or 1536. When they reached present-day Mexico, then called New Spain, the Spaniards heard stories of great wealth to the north. A member of the party, Esteban the Black, came back to the north in search of that wealth. Scouting ahead of a group led by Father Marcos de Niza, he reached Zuni Pueblo and his death in 1539.

By then there were Navajos living near Zuni. In 1540, when Coronado marched into New Mexico, the People already knew of the Spaniards. Though Navajos and Pueblos fought and raided each other, trade had been a much more important part of their contact. Before the Spaniards came, the Navajos had few reasons to fight the Pueblos. The Pueblos had goods that other Indians desired. Hunters and gatherers like the Navajos could obtain these things in trade for goods such as animal hides and pinyon nuts. Trade was more rewarding than raiding. The hunting and gathering peoples lived in small bands and used only bows and spears for weapons. They had little success when they attacked larger groups living in fortress-like pueblos. Although they did attack sometimes, only the pressures of a third party could make war more rewarding than trade.

The Spanish were such a third party. Coronado's group, the

first in what would be a long Spanish invasion, showed the Indians what would follow. As part of their search for riches, Coronado and his followers brought greed, oppression, and warfare to New Mexico. The Navajos had not yet suffered from the Spanish conquest. But other Athabascans and the Pueblos had. The Navajos had seen the warning.

During the next fifty years, a handful of Spanish groups made their way to New Mexico. They did little more than increase anger among the Indians. Spanish slavers reached far beyond the mining frontier of Mexico in their search for slaves to work the frontier mines and ranches. Raiders and traders also spread European culture and goods. The most important of those items, the horse, reached southern New Mexico during the sixteenth century.

In 1582 the Espejo-Beltrán group became the first Europeans to contact the Navajos. Near Acoma Pueblo, they met "peaceful Indian Mountaineers" who gave them tortillas. Thus the Navajos already grew corn. Two of the Spaniards wrote about the trip. One explained the protected location of Acoma by stating that the Pueblos were at war with the Navajos. In contrast, the other wrote that the "Querechos" (Navajos) aided the more settled people and carried on trade with them. The Spaniards learned later that the Hopis were also friendly with the "Querechos" (probably Navajos). But the friendly attitude of the Navajos near Acoma changed the next year, when Espejo and his men returned and fought with them over slaves.

Spanish Indian Policy

Navajos, Apaches, and Pueblos all learned that they could expect little good from the Spanish. But they also learned that these new men had certain things which gave them advantages. During the next century, the Indians would do what they could to obtain Spanish guns and horses. By 1590, at any rate, it was clear that the Spaniards would continue to push into New Mexico.

As New Spain's frontier moved north, the Spaniards needed new policies for dealing with the Indians. Along the frontier, they found a world different from that in the south. The northern Indians did not live in settled towns or have complex societies like the Aztecs and their neighbors. They had almost no central governments with powerful chiefs or kings. Instead, in the north, the

Spaniards found many small, independent groups with a great variety of cultures and languages.

Because of this confusion, the frontiersmen tried to control the Indians by means of slavery or murder. The Indians fought back, forcing Spain to bring soldiers to the frontier. This policy only angered the Indians all the more. When officials saw that force alone had failed, they began to use the mission to try to turn Indians into Christians with European habits. That, officials thought, would make Indians useful subjects of the Spanish king. In the end, missionaries and soldiers worked together to control the Indians.

"Civilization" was the goal of Spanish efforts to change the Indians. To a Spaniard, civilization meant Catholicism, the Spanish language, European dress, European marriage customs, stone or adobe houses, and obedience to the Spanish law and king. The Spaniards felt that their culture would improve the Indians. They did not understand that the Indians had worthwhile life-styles of their own. They thought that the Indians should be thankful, not resentful, for what the Spaniards brought them.

As a result of this policy, Indians were often caught between rival Spanish groups, both of whom wanted to change their lives. Missionaries hoped to settle the Indians around mission churches, where they would turn into good Spaniards. On the other hand, miners, ranchers, and other settlers wanted to use Indian labor. They too hoped to separate the Indians from their own peoples and cultures. Thus missionaries and other Spaniards often fought over how Indians should be brought into Spanish society.

In New Mexico, the Spanish policies faced special problems. There was no need to move Pueblos into settlements. The missionaries merely built churches in the existing towns. But the large numbers of unsettled Indians like the Navajos were a major problem. The Spaniards in New Mexico were few, and their power was not great enough to force all of the Indians into towns. The old Spanish policy could not be adapted to the new problems.

The Conquest of the Pueblos

On July 7, 1598, Juan de Oñate led a large group of Spaniards to Santo Domingo, where they met people from the New Mexico Pueblos. The Indians promised to be loyal to the King of Spain. But they probably did not know what such promises meant to the

Spaniards. Thus they allowed the colony of New Mexico to be founded.

Oñate's capital at first was the town of San Juan de los Caballeros near San Juan Pueblo. It was later moved to San Gabriel. Both were close to Navajo lands. The Navajos had seen that the Spaniards could be strong enemies. They watched the conquest of the Pueblos, many of whom were their friends. They also saw the tempting herds that the invaders brought. Soon the Navajos would become the first non-Pueblo people in New Mexico to fight the Spaniards.

Oñate spent much of his time exploring the colony. During his journeys, he wrote about a number of Indian tribes that he called "Apaches," "Vaqueros," and "Querechos." The Spaniards used these names for many different Indians. In time, Spanish writers came to use the name "Apache" most often for the non-Pueblo peoples they met. Location often provides the only clue to tell which group the Spaniards meant when they used these names. But some of the Indians Oñate met were surely Navajos, though this name was not yet used to describe the People.

Oñate came to New Mexico to extend the influence of his king, but he also came to find wealth. The fabulous stories of wealth heard in New Spain since the time of Cabeza de Vaca still drew men to the north. When Oñate failed to find that wealth, he tried to make up his losses by turning the Indians into gold. People were New Mexico's only riches. Slavery was the colony's most rewarding resource.

Oñate soon learned that the Pueblos had not accepted Spanish rule as completely as he had thought. Again and again, Spanish force had to be used to control the Pueblos. The most serious use of that force came in January 1599. The Spaniards massacred eight hundred men, women, and children at Acoma. The adult male captives lost one foot as punishment for resisting Spain. All of the captives lost their freedom for twenty years.

Some of the People lived near Acoma. They had had a long relationship with its people. Some Navajos may have seen the slaughter, while others probably gave shelter to refugees. As a result of such incidents and Spanish policies like the demands for tribute, many Pueblos left their homes. They went to live with the Navajos and Apaches, who learned much from the refugees. The exchange of customs that had begun when the Athabascans came to the Southwest became more important. Now the Navajos

learned not only about Pueblo ways, but also about the ways of the Spaniards. Slowly the People learned how to use the horse, the sheep, and the gun. Such tools would make them stronger foes of the Spaniards in the years to come. But, though they had reason to be hostile, the Navajos stayed at peace with the New Mexican settlers for the time being. The example of Acoma had taught the People the cost of fighting the strangers.

War with the Invaders

By 1606, however, the Navajos had decided that the Spaniards and their property, including their horses, could be attacked. The People began raiding. Though the Spaniards tried to fight back, they had little success. The Navajos raided right up to the doorsteps of Spanish homes at San Gabriel. By the first decade of the seventeenth century, the invaders were in trouble. Many had left the colony in 1601. Oñate's failure to send wealth back to the king had put him out of favor. In 1607 he resigned, and a new governor was sent two years later. By then the Indians were obtaining horses as fast as they could. With horses, they were more and more beyond Spanish control. Yet, in spite of signs that the New Mexican colony had failed, Spain would not abandon it. In 1610 the invaders moved their capital to Santa Fe, farther from Navajo raids. The search for riches had failed, but the missionary and settlement work would go on.

In the next decades, a split between the missionaries and the civil leaders further weakened Spain's control over New Mexico. From 1617 to 1621, the two groups fought over Indian policy. They disagreed most about how Indian labor should be used. The governors hoped to enrich themselves. They wanted to use the Indians to obtain tribute, labor, and land. The missionaries wanted to convert the Indians to their religion. They felt that the best way to reach this goal was to maintain Indian communities beyond the control of governors, soldiers, and others.

This dispute affected all of the Indians in New Mexico in some ways. But it mattered the least to the Navajos and other tribes who were beyond Spanish control. Forcing them into mission towns could not be done without their agreement or the use of force. But the People showed little interest in Christianity. And, during the seventeenth century, New Mexico's army consisted of only a handful of citizen-soldiers. These men were paid with grants of land and Indian labor. The grants were worth little as

long as the Indians could not be controlled. Most army victories came about only because Indian tribes were not well-organized. Normally, however, the few soldiers could do little more than anger the enemy.

New missionaries came to New Mexico in the 1620s. Among them was Father Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron, who was the first Spaniard to use the word "Navajo" for the People. Instead of using the broader names "Apache" and "Querecho," Zarate Salmeron wrote about the "Apaches of Nabaho." He said they lived between the Chama and San Juan rivers in 1626.

By the mid-1620s, the Spanish fathers knew that the Navajos were a separate group. At that time, the friars began their efforts to convert the tribe. They learned more about the Navajos from Santa Clara and Jemez Pueblos, who had a great deal of contact with the People. Christian Santa Clara was the victim of constant Navajo attacks. The more rebellious Jemez Pueblo often joined the Navajos in their wars against the Spaniards. Many of the Navajos who lived in this region were led by Quinia. When the missionaries met this leader, they set out to convert his people. At first, they succeeded. Quinia and another leader named Manases were baptized. But soon the Navajos came to resent the restraints of Christianity and tried to kill the missionary who lived with them.

In spite of this setback, Father Alonso de Benavides went on trying to baptize the Navajos. In 1630 he published the first lengthy account of the tribe. He described them as a vast nation of more than 200,000 people. He stated that they were part of the same nation as the other Apaches but had different leaders and a different lifestyle. Unlike the other Apaches, he reported, the Navajos farmed and lived a more settled life. In fact, Benavides wrote, they were "very great farmers for that is what Navajo means — it means 'great planted fields.'"

Benavides also said that the Navajos were the most warlike tribe in New Mexico. They fought with the Pueblos, he said, because the Pueblos took a mineral dye from Navajo lands. The Navajos reacted to this trespass by attacking Pueblo towns. The Spaniards who tried to protect the Pueblos, Benavides said, met as many as 30,000 Navajo warriors. Benavides wildly exaggerated the number of Navajos. He did not write about the role the Spaniards had played in increasing hostilities among the Indians. But he was correct when he described the Navajos as the largest and most powerful tribe in New Mexico.

The Navajos attacked the Pueblos more often during the seventeenth century than they had in the past. The Spaniards had come between the two peoples, and Navajo anger toward the whites was also directed at those Pueblos who had accepted the enemy. Missionaries and other Spaniards were present in the Pueblo towns. That made it impossible for raiders to know their friends from their foes. The Pueblos bore a large burden in the constant conflict. Their labor, their possessions, and their children were at the mercy of the Spaniards. The priests kept them from holding onto even the most personal part of their lives, their spiritual beliefs. Often starving, many Pueblos took refuge with the Navajos. These refugees not only changed Navajo culture, they also caused more raids against the Spaniards. The Pueblos wanted revenge, and the Navajos were willing to help.

Governor Rosas fought a civil war with the Catholic fathers from 1637 to 1641. He drove all of the missionaries out of the Pueblo towns and forced many of the Pueblos to fight back. He also urged the Navajos to attack the horse herds of his enemies. During the civil war, the Navajos increased their raids.

Rosas wanted wealth, and he saw slaves as the best way to get rich. Spanish slave-raids, more than anything else, angered the Navajos. Many of New Mexico's governors were slavers. Prevented by Spanish law from having any business or trade, the governors still sought as much profit as they could gain from their position. So trading parties sent to Indians' homelands often brought back slaves. It was common for slavers to start battles in order to take captives. The captives then became servants in New Mexico, were sold to masters in New Spain, or were sent to the mines at Parral. Although there were many laws against this trade, they had almost no effect. Slave-raids simply paid too well.

By 1641 the Spanish fathers had defeated Rosas. They quickly began large campaigns against the Navajos. Many of the People were killed in these campaigns. Even more were captured. And their crops and food supplies were destroyed. Soon the Navajos asked for peace in order to get the Spaniards off their lands. But the truce lasted only a few years.

By 1645 the Navajos and Jemez had formed an alliance. When the Spaniards heard of the plan, they hanged twenty-nine men from Jemez Pueblo. But Spain could not control the Navajos, even with major campaigns against the People on the San Juan River in 1647 and 1649. In 1650 the Spaniards heard of far more serious plans for revolt, which involved many of the Pueblos and

the Navajos. Nine leaders from the Pueblos of Isleta, Alameda, San Felipe, Cochiti, and Jemez were hanged. But Indian resistance did not end.

Earlier governors, like Roṣas, had made large slave-raids. But their raids were small compared to those made by the Spanish governors after 1660. One owned ninety slaves and sent seventy or eighty others to be sold in the south. On one occasion, he murdered a Navajo peace party he had invited to Jemez. Then he raided their homes to enslave their wives and children. Another leader had so many slaves that he gave more than one hundred of them away. And this governor gave the People another reason for war. In 1663 he made a rule which kept the Navajos and the other Apaches from entering the Pueblos to trade.

In the 1660s and 1670s, the Navajos fought constantly with New Mexico. The colony also faced a drought and famine during the late 1660s. Disease came after the drought in 1671. Many Pueblo people died, and the Spaniards could barely hold onto their weak colony. Seeing how weak the Spaniards were, the angry Navajos struck at the settlements. To defend themselves, the Spaniards had to retreat. They abandoned at least seven Pueblos during the 1670s.

The Spaniards still sent out the army to fight the Navajos, though. The soldiers always did much damage and took many captives, but they failed to stop the raids. They asked for more aid from New Spain, and by 1679 they were ready for the largest campaign ever against the Navajos. Before they could launch the attack, though, the Southwest Indians struck a blow of their own.

The Indian Revolution

Led by a Tewa named Popé, the Pueblos revolted in August 1680. Their main goal was the return of religious freedom. The Navajos and Apaches aided the rebellion, and many of them joined in the fighting. They too hoped to end Spanish rule. And they wanted to restore their old relationship with the Pueblos.

After the revolt, the Spaniards retreated to El Paso. But they hoped that, in part, the revolt would work in their favor. They thought that the Apaches and Navajos would make life so hard for the Pueblos that the town Indians would welcome the return of Spanish rule. But such was not the case. What little news came from New Mexico showed that the different Indian groups were

As Pueblo refugees settled among the Navajos, many Pueblo ways and arts, such as weaving, became a more and more important part of Navajo life. By the eighteenth century, the Navajos were known as weavers of fine blankets. This photograph shows two Navajo women spinning wool in the camp of Charlie the Weaver in 1893. A James Mooney photograph courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives

restoring friendship. The Navajos were among those who made friends with the Pueblos along their frontiers.

The Indians held their freedom for twelve years. Without Spaniards to stop them, Navajos and Pueblos met freely. Many Pueblos left their towns and began new lives with the Navajos. Fearing a sudden return of the Spaniards, they chose to live side by side with people whose power and remoteness could protect them. Taking on a new lifestyle, they at the same time added to the culture of their hosts by sharing much of their own knowledge. Changes in Navajo life had been taking place for many years. Navajos already wove woolen cloth, raised many different crops, had a religion like that of the Pueblos in some ways, and may have herded livestock. All of these practices were strengthened by the coming of the Pueblos.

Even more Pueblos came after 1692, when the Spaniards returned to New Mexico. Diego de Vargas began his reconquest of the province in that year. It took him many years to defeat the Indians and control the Rio Grande Valley. Meanwhile the Pueblos had split into factions. At least some of these factions depended on the Navajos for aid. The Navajos urged the Pueblos to resist Vargas and his army. They also raided with the rebels. In 1696 they joined with many of the Pueblos in a last effort to drive the Spaniards out of New Mexico. But by 1698 the Spaniards had won. They had taken all of the upper Rio Grande Valley.

During the early years of the eighteenth century, some Pueblos, including Zuni, Hopi, and Laguna, still plotted against the Spanish rulers. The Spaniards spent a great deal of time stopping the plots. The Navajos too were still a grave and constant threat to Spanish safety. In 1702 the governor began to plan a campaign against them. But when the Navajos sent one of their leaders to Taos to ask for peace, the governor dropped his plans. Navajos continued to raid. In 1704 some joined Pueblos from Hopi, Taos, San Ildefonso, and San Juan in plots against the Spaniards.

But not all of the Navajos were fighting the Spaniards. Some even warned the settlers of Pueblo plots. There were many differences among the Navajos. They were very independent people, made up of many separate groups. They spread through a large area west of the Rio Grande. The largest group lived on southern branches of the San Juan River, such as the Gobernador, Largo, and Blanco canyon lands. Most fighting was in that region.

During the first fifteen to twenty years of the eighteenth century, New Mexico's warfare began to follow a new pattern. The Navajos raided the towns and the Pueblos. The Spaniards then sent troops into Navajo country. This normally brought Navajo leaders into the towns to ask for peace. Peace gave the People a chance to recover from the attacks. The truces often lasted for a few years, until some Navajos or Spaniards sought wealth at the expense of the other. Then a new cycle of warfare started.

More and more, the Pueblos bore the brunt of the raids. The many angry Pueblos living with the Navajos were one reason for this. Another reason was that the Spaniards sought Pueblo help in their wars with other Indians. Vargas used Pueblo allies during his reconquest. Then he turned them against the frontier Indians. As the Spaniards defeated each Pueblo, they added its residents to their army. In this way, they formed a united front against the

Apache and Navajo threat. A common enemy brought new unity to the settled peoples of New Mexico. Groups of hostile Indians might be persuaded to find safety in this union. Thus the alliance gave the Spaniards the fighting power they had needed.

As a result, the feeling of the Navajos toward the Pueblos changed. If the Navajos were at war with the Spaniards, then they also had to be at war with the Pueblos. Pueblo towns had fewer defenses against attacks than Spanish towns did. And so the Pueblos felt the pressure of Navajo power more than their Spanish allies did.

The Spaniards tried hard to defeat the Navajos in August and September 1705. The soldiers went deep into Navajoland, where they found Navajos living on mesa tops in houses made of stone and wood. The Navajos had begun to defend the mesas with round watch towers and other fort-like structures. Pressed by the troops, many of them moved south out of Largo and Blanco canyons to the fortress-like region of Big Bead Mesa at the north end of the Cebolleta Mountains. There they were out of reach of the soldiers. The Spanish army came back to Santa Fe with many captives and livestock.

They had killed some Navajos and destroyed many of their crops. Of more importance, the Spaniards had gained new knowledge of Navajo lifestyles. The Navajos were raising "corn, beans, squash, and all sorts of seeds and grains, such as chile and other plants." They also made wool and cotton blankets, raising both the sheep and the cotton themselves. Thus, by the eighteenth century, they had started their important sheep flocks. At some point, they had begun to herd, rather than just eat, the animals they had taken from the Spaniards. The People had probably gained large herds when the Spaniards left New Mexico in 1680.

After the 1705 campaign, the Navajos asked for peace. The Spaniards, who could not afford the constant fighting, agreed to the truce. During the next few years of peace, the Navajos traded with the Pueblos once again. They went to favorite Pueblos like Santa Clara and Jemez to trade. They also came to the yearly trade fairs held by the Spaniards at places like Taos.

But, late in 1708, the Navajos ended the peace. The raids began again. The Spaniards conducted six campaigns during the next year but still could not control the Navajos. Raids had helped the People in at least one respect. By 1709 they had many horses and sheep. The horses gave them far more power. They could

move much farther and more quickly. This meant that they could strike at distant targets and quickly retreat beyond the reach of soldiers.

The Long Peace

After the campaigns of 1709 came four years of peace. But new army campaigns were needed in 1713, 1714, and 1716. Then a long peace at last brought the war between the Spaniards and the Navajos to an end. The Spaniards had grown weary of battle. They made greater efforts to avoid war. And one major reason for the earlier campaigns no longer seemed as important. After the reconquest, the Spaniards had felt a need to recover the many Pueblos who had joined the Navajos. In the 1690s, these Pueblo rebels seemed to pose a great threat. They influenced the Navajos they joined, and they were a missing link in the chain of Pueblo unity that the Spaniards were trying to create. But by 1716 the Pueblo rebellion was little more than a memory. The Pueblos had become full members of the tribes they had joined. So they seemed less of a threat.

The Spaniards tried a new plan. They made strict rules for trade. Settlers could not trade with the frontier Indians. Special permission was needed to remove or sell horses, on which the Indian trade was based. Finally, no one could buy soldiers' equipment because it could not be replaced.

The People had their own reasons for stopping the war with the Spaniards. New enemies attacked them on the north and east. Two Shoshonean tribes, the Utes and the Comanches, were making life hard for the People. For years the Spaniards had been confused about Ute-Navajo relations. In 1704, fearing an alliance between the two, they made friends with the Utes. This stopped some common efforts among Spain's enemies. But it also caused the Navajos and some of the Apaches to join together because they did not like the special trading granted the Utes. Seeing that, the Spaniards invited the Navajos to share in the trade. But before long Spain feared a new Ute, Navajo, and Apache league. The Spaniards reacted with strength, forcing the Utes to give up their Athabascan allies. Then the Utes joined with a group of new southwesterners, the Comanches. Until the Utes brought the Comanches to the Taos trade fair about 1705, the Spaniards had not known of the newcomers. Then the governor quickly made a treaty with the two tribes, leaving the Navajos at their mercy.

Utes and Comanches raided deep in Navajoland. Herds of

horses and sheep made the Navajos easy victims. An Indian rather than a Spanish threat may have been the major reason the Navajos had to fortify their mesa tops. Strong pressure slowly forced them to leave the upper San Juan River and move south and west, to a region where small bands of the People already lived. The Navajos could not fight both the Spaniards and the Shoshoneans. Since the Spanish threat seemed less serious, the Navajo-Spanish peace held for a time.

Pedro de Rivera visited New Mexico in 1726 in an attempt to end the constant threat of frontier war. As a result of his visit, new rules were made for New Mexico in 1729. No war was to be made against hostile Indians unless persuasion had failed to bring peace. One non-Christian nation could not be used to fight another unless the first nation had asked for Spanish help. The use of Christian Indian allies was encouraged, though. Indian trade had to be at fair prices. Captive families were not to be split up, because breaking up the families led to Indian revenge. Finally, when the Indians asked for peace, written agreements were to be signed. In 1732 Governor Cruzat outlawed the sale of captives to friendly Indians. The punishment was not harsh enough, though, to stop the practice. Still the Navajos stayed at peace for more than fifty years.

With peace, missionaries came to the Navajos again. At first the fathers merely preached to the Navajos who had gone to the Pueblos. Then, in the early 1740s, the fathers made a bigger effort. By that time, the Franciscan fathers of New Mexico faced two challenges. Priests loyal to the bishop of Durango challenged their right to control New Mexico. And Jesuit fathers won the right to convert the Hopi Pueblos in 1741. The Franciscans needed new converts to strengthen their position in New Mexico. At the same time, Spanish interest in the Navajo area grew as a result of rumors that there were silver mines northwest of the People's land.

So two fathers visited the Navajo in 1744. They preached and gave gifts. Later, wildly stretching the truth, they claimed to have converted five thousand Indians. The missionaries' success excited the Spaniards, who soon made plans to convert all the Navajos. Governor Joachin Codallos y Rabal began to gather information on them. Among other things, he found that the tribe had four thousand members.

The Spanish fathers made two more visits to the Navajo country, baptizing many children there and at Cebolleta. The

Navajos' sudden interest in Catholicism surprised the fathers, for the Navajos had never shown interest in the Christian teachings before. Urged by the fathers, a large group of Navajos led by Fernando de Orcazitas moved to Cebolleta in 1748. But interest in Christianity was not the only reason for this move. A severe drought destroyed Navajo crops in 1748, and Ute raids were causing as much damage as ever. The missionaries promised the Indians seeds, livestock, and tools, as well as religion.

Two missions were built, one at Cebolleta and one at nearby Encinal. Each had a missionary. At first many people were baptized. But, as time passed, the Navajos grew more and more reluctant to move to towns near the mission. They could not see why this religion required them to settle in one place. And they were unhappy with the fathers' work for other reasons, too. When the missions had been set up, the Navajos saw few of the gifts they had been promised. Many of the People had been most eager to find protection from the Utes. Moving to Cebolleta had helped protect the People, but Christianity itself gave them little safety. They saw at first-hand the kind of Spanish rule under which the Christian Pueblos had to suffer. This too was a good argument against baptism. And their own religion satisfied their spiritual needs. By early 1750, they had driven the missionaries out.

Despite the failure of the missions, the Navajos stayed at peace through the 1750s and 1760s. But once again Spanish policies began to anger them. Settlers were moving west of the Rio Grande Valley. The Spanish governor had given out many grants to lands that bordered on or included land used by the Navajos. The grants contained attempts to protect Navajo rights, and at first the Navajos did not protest. But, by the 1770s, Spanish herds and flocks were damaging Navajo farms around the base of the Cebolleta Mountains. The growing Navajo herds and flocks needed the grazing lands. And the nearness of Spanish stock offered young Navajos an easy way to make their fortunes.

Another part of Spanish policy also threatened the peace. Sometime before 1749, the Utes and the Comanches had become bitter foes. The Spaniards took advantage of this to form an alliance with the Utes. Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín actively sought Ute friendship during his two terms as governor, from 1749 to 1754 and from 1762 to 1767. He also made truces with the Comanches. But these truces did little to stop wars between tribes. In fact, the Spaniards tried to use the Utes, Comanches, and

Navajos against each other. They hoped that would keep the Indians too busy to bother New Mexico's settled peoples.

Cachupín had great success because he was a skillful diplomat. His successors were not as skilled. They could not keep peace among the many peoples of New Mexico. The Navajos began to think of attacks on the Spaniards and the Pueblos as a means of making up for their many losses. For all of these reasons, the unusual era of peace on the northern frontier of New Spain came to an end in the 1770s.

The Utah Navajos after the Spanish Conquest

Just when the Navajos first moved into the northern and western parts of their nineteenth-century homelands is not known. In the past, historians thought that, during the early Spanish period, Navajo lands were confined to the region known as the Dinétah. This homeland was in the Gobernador–Largo Canyon region of northern New Mexico. It is now clear that the Navajos had a much larger homeland at that early date. Even then, Navajos were living in large parts of New Mexico to the west of the Rio Grande and to the north of Zuni and Acoma Pueblos.

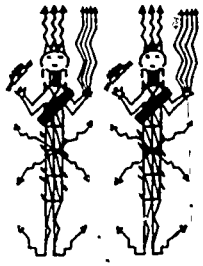
The earliest dated Navajo site in Utah north of the San Juan River is a hogan in the White Canyon area west of Bear's Ears. Tree-ring dating shows that this hogan was probably built about 1620. Science and Hopi tradition also agree that by 1629 Navajos were living north and west of the Hopi Pueblos. A map made by Governor Diego de Peñalosa in 1665 showed Navajos living on Black Mesa and north of the San Francisco Mountains.

By 1700 the Navajos had two reasons to move north and west, possibly into Utah. To escape Spanish revenge, refugees from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 sought homes far away from the Rio Grande. During the early eighteenth century, many Navajos also moved out of the Dinétah because of Ute and Comanche raids. They sought homes as far away as Utah, north of the San Juan. There they may have joined relatives who had been in the area since the People migrated out of the Far North.

Both science and Spanish maps clearly show that, during the 1700s, Navajos were north of the San Juan. Many of them may have used this area mostly for seasonal hunting and gathering. But at least some of the People lived permanently in these northern parts of Navajoland.

These Navajo women, photographed about 1900, still carried basketry water jars. As time passed, fewer and fewer of the fine Navajo baskets were made. A. G. Wharton James photograph, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

VII. NÁHONZHOODĄĄ': THE FEARING



A Time of Change

Pressed by Utes, Comanches, and Spanish settlers, the Navajos fought back in the 1770s. Pueblos and Spaniards both had good reason to regret this end of a half-century of peace. Although New Mexico was a secure Spanish holding by the late eighteenth century, its people were still poor and weak. Spain had largely given up its hopes of finding wealth in New Mexico. The province was held only because it was the key to the defense of New Spain's whole frontier. Seeing that the Navajos could be a strong enemy, the Spaniards worked hard to restore the peace.

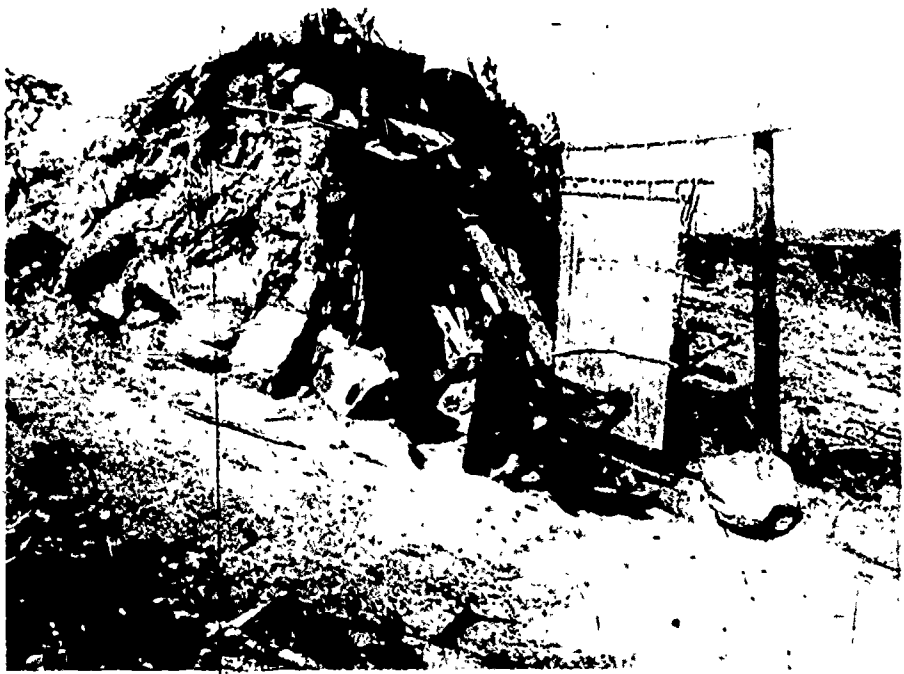
The last half of the eighteenth century was a time of change and growth for the People. An age-old lifestyle had slowly become something new. There was never a sudden break with the past. But, by 1800, many years of change had produced the distinctive people we now think of as Navajos. The cultural exchange with the Pueblos went on, mixing new materials and ideas with the old way of life. And, after two hundred years of European contact, the Navajos had added many Spanish things to their lives. Above all, the Spaniards had brought horses and sheep to the People. By 1800 these animals had much to do with how the Navajos lived. Depending on their wealth in stock, the Navajos lived well or simply survived. Many of their customs and habits had come to be based on seasonal movement and the needs of their animals. Many Navajos risked death in raids to add to their herds and flocks. The change caused by these animals was so complete that the Navajos found it hard to believe that the People had ever existed without them. The horses gave them strength and the sheep sustained their lives.

Under the influence of the Pueblos, the Navajos went on adding to their complex ceremonial life. Navajos were, and still are, a very religious people. Their religion suited them so well that Spanish missionaries had very little success. Pueblo influence was strongest on Navajo clans. Navajo social structure had also borrowed from the Pueblos. A Navajo traced his clan lineage through

his female ancestors, though he also honored his father's clan. Women had always been important in Navajo society. Men lived among their wives' families. Women also owned their own wealth, often stated their beliefs when decisions were made, and sometimes led war parties.

Navajo blankets had already become special trade items. Using wool from their sheep, the People wove blankets that were soon among the most beautiful and precious items in New Mexican trade. They still made fine baskets, a practice which later they would almost completely give up.

At the same time, the Navajos left their traditional Dinétah homeland. Because of the raids made by other Indians, life was hazardous in that homeland. The Navajos also needed more grazing land for their growing herds and flocks. As the People moved farther west in search of grass for their stock, their homes and family settlements spread apart. Real distance then came between the new way and the concentrated, settled life of the past.



Navajo blankets became famous throughout the Southwest. This woman, photographed in the 1890s, set up her loom in front of the doorway to a forked stick hogan. Photograph courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

The Peace Policy and El Pinto

As many Navajos moved west, the Spaniards lost contact with all but that part of the tribe which stayed near the Rio Grande, in the San Mateo and Cebolleta mountains. These people were victims of both the spread of Spanish settlement and Ute-Comanche raids.

At first, as Navajo raids increased, the Spaniards could not control them. By 1771 Spanish troops were marching frequently into Navajo country, trying to punish the Indians. But most of these marches failed. The Navajos merely moved to their protected forts on Big Bead Mesa, and the raids went on.

Because of the war, the Spaniards gave up their towns and ranches on the frontier. Settlers took refuge in the Rio Grande towns. They had deserted all their homes on the Rio Puerco and around the Cebolleta Mountains by late 1775. Thus the Navajos had reached one of their major goals. They had rid their land of Spanish settlers. At the same time, the governor began to use the Utes to fight the Navajos again. So, that year, the Navajos sent two leaders to Laguna to request peace, and the Spaniards were happy to agree. This peace lasted until 1780.

During the 1770s, it had become clear to Spain that basic changes were needed to protect New Mexico and the rest of the northern frontier. New Mexico could barely survive the attacks of the Navajos and other Indians. Controlling them seemed impossible. The settlers lost so many horses to the Navajos that the province begged the rulers of New Spain for more animals to help defend the frontier. The Viceroy sent the fifteen hundred horses that New Mexico asked for in 1776. But he claimed that the settlers had brought many of their problems on themselves. They were careless, he said, because they lived on widely scattered ranches.

Spain had other reasons to change life on its frontier. Spaniards had acquired Louisiana in 1763 and settled California in 1775. Their large claims, which stretched from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, would be difficult to defend.

The needed reforms began in 1776. The northern provinces were brought together in a single unit of government, known as the Commandancy-General, under the direct rule of the King of Spain. Spain saw New Mexico as a key part of the new unit. After 1778 a new governor, Juan Bautista de Anza, worked closely with the Commandancy-General to control the Indians. Anza followed

a divide-and-conquer strategy. He used treaties, large payments, and gifts to keep the friendship of peaceful tribes. Then he sent the friendly tribes to attack the hostile Indians. Settlers were also moved into fewer towns for safety.

The Navajos began causing problems for the Spaniards again in 1780. The Gila Apaches were raiding the upper Rio Grande. They came by way of Navajo lands. Some Navajos joined the Apaches in raids on New Mexico and the towns of northern Sonora, Mexico. So Governor Anza tried to break up the alliance by forcing the Navajos to help him fight the Gila Apaches.

The New Mexicans faced other Navajo problems in 1790. A long drought had killed many of the Hopis, and the Spaniards wanted to remove these Pueblos to new towns on the Rio Grande. Rather than give in to Spanish control, many Hopis chose to take their chances with their sometime enemies, the Navajos. In spite of old hatreds, the Navajos took many Hopis into their tribe. Still the Spaniards moved 150 Hopis to the Rio Grande in 1780.

Governor Anza tried peaceful methods to stop the Navajo raids, which had become serious. At first he had little success. By 1784 Navajo attacks were so serious that the governor used force to try to break the Navajo–Gila Apache league. First he tried to block the route between the two tribes by placing forty soldiers on the Rio San Jose. Then he ordered that all trade with the Navajos be stopped. This took much wealth from the tribe. At last Navajo leaders agreed to help Spain fight the Gila Apaches.

For the next few years, some Navajos joined the Spaniards and their Indian allies in the war against the Apaches. Anza rewarded the Indians with gifts. He also restored trade. Still, there were never more than fifty warriors who joined the Spanish soldiers at any one time. The Spaniards thought that one Navajo leader was still helping the Apaches. They believed that this man, Antonio El Pinto, kept his people from giving total support to the Spanish effort. El Pinto had been among the Navajos who joined the Apaches to raid Sonora. In July 1785, he came to Santa Fe with thirteen other leaders and apologized for his actions. Anza still did not trust him, though. The governor was afraid that El Pinto's regret was only temporary.

With Spanish rewards of food, horses, cattle, and firearms, the Navajos seemed to have given up the Apache alliance. Still Anza was not sure. He knew that individuals could rejoin their former allies. To prevent that, the Spaniards hit upon the idea of

choosing a head chief for the Navajos, who had never had such an office. Then, the Spaniards thought, they would be able to control the tribe through this chief they had made.

Planning to choose a head chief and a second-in-command, Anza met with eighty Navajos on the Rio Puerco in March 1786. Don Carlos, a man whose family had been friendly with the Spaniards, was appointed head chief. Don Joseph Antonio, also from a friendly family, was chosen as second-in-command. Each was given a medal as a badge of office. Both earned salaries. Don Carlos accepted the title of General of the Navajos. He agreed to supply Anza with bands of thirty warriors each month. Anza also chose a Spaniard as "Interpreter." This man would live among the Navajos and make sure that they kept these terms. For added insurance, Anza jailed El Pinto.

Anza had to allow some minor Navajo raids for his plans to succeed. He wisely knew that the new Navajo leaders could not always control all of the tribe. His plan was also expensive. In 1786 alone, six thousand pesos were set aside to keep good relations with the frontier tribes. Still, Anza kept to his plan. He urged the Navajos to come to the yearly trade fairs held with the Utes and Comanches. There they could sell their blankets. He watched over the trade with care, to make sure the Indians were not cheated.

It seemed as if the Navajos had at last joined the Spanish system. El Pinto alone was still suspected, in spite of the fact that the Spaniards had little proof against him. He was released and allowed to move freely through the province. He did not know how much the Spaniards distrusted him, though. In October 1787 he and some friends visited Isleta Pueblo to trade peacefully. The Spaniards arrested him there and took him to jail in Santa Fe. Navajos claimed that the man was innocent. Even Don Carlos and Don Joseph Antonio, El Pinto's supposed foes, visited the governor to ask for his release. But the new governor, Fernando de la Concha, chose not to release him until June 1788.

Spanish feelings toward El Pinto changed quickly after his release in June. Don Carlos had failed to supply bands of Navajo warriors to the Spanish army every month. El Pinto began to look better to Governor Concha. In August El Pinto joined a campaign against the Gila Apaches. He had more power with the "friendly" Navajos than Don Carlos. What Anza had failed to see was that the Navajos were far more likely to follow a traditional leader like El Pinto than someone chosen by outsiders.

El Pinto led campaigns against the Apaches in 1788. He also oversaw the building of defense works to stop Apache attacks. In late 1788, Governor Concha decided to reward him with the title of general and retire Don Carlos.

Relations between the Spaniards and the Navajos were good for the next few years. Spanish payments to the Indians went on. The Navajos visited Santa Fe from time to time to receive gifts. They still acted independently, but they remained friendly with the New Mexicans. In 1792 they joined the Utes to strike at the Comanches. Such actions disturbed the peace, so Concha quickly set up a truce between the tribes. On October 21, 1793, Antonio El Pinto died from wounds suffered in a Gila Apache raid. Spanish leaders were sorry for the loss of this leader, whom they had once distrusted. Angered by the killing, the Navajos stayed friendly with the Spaniards and renewed their attacks on the Apaches.

As the Apaches were defeated, peace came back to the north. The army made only routine patrols. Frontier towns saw new life. New churches were built. Stock-raisers came back to the Cebolleta area. Miners began to search for precious metals. Soon direct pressure from this Spanish growth began to touch more and more Navajos.

Until that time, Spanish contact had been limited to the Indians living closest to the Rio Grande. As the frontier towns grew, the Spaniards learned that many Navajos lived freely, beyond their reach. At one point, General Don Carlos reported that the Navajos could be divided into five local groups. These were San Mateo to the northwest of Mount Taylor, Cebolleta on the eastern side of the Cebolleta Mountains, Oso or Bear Springs near present-day Fort Wingate, Chuska in the Chuska Valley and Mountains, and Chelly far to the west in Canyon de Chelly. Although these bands included the greater part of the tribe, other Navajos lived in more remote areas of which the Spaniards were not aware.

Massacre Cave

Growing more and more restless because of Spanish pressure, some Navajos restored their bond with the Gila Apaches in 1796. War came back to the frontier. The Navajos again became a constant threat to New Mexico. Each time the governor reported they were under control, news of more raids would come in.

Conflict was worst in the Cebolleta region, although the

Navajos struck at Spanish and Pueblo towns all along the upper Rio Grande. The year 1804 was the hardest for Spaniards trying to settle around Cebolleta. After many small incidents, two hundred Navajos made an all-out attack on the little Spanish town on April 24, 1804. The Spaniards, supported by Utes, began a new campaign to bring the Navajos under control, but at first it had little success. In September the Navajos hit Cebolleta again. This time their forces, by report, included nine hundred to one thousand men.

The Spaniards had taken Navajo lands and ruled that the Indians could no longer settle in the Cebolleta region. Because of this, the Navajos directed their anger at Cebolleta. Settling the confused land rights in the Rio Puerco-Cebolleta Mountains region was to be a major concern through the rest of the Spanish reign.

Finally, during the months of December and January, Lieutenant Antonio Narbona led a campaign which was so destructive that Navajo tradition still tells about it. Narbona's troops attacked the Navajos at Canyon de Chelly, deeper in Navajoland than most Spaniards had reached before. In 2 days of battles, the soldiers killed 90 Navajo men and 25 women and children. They also took 350 sheep and goats and 30 horses and mules.

About seventy Navajos also died in a battle in Canyon del Muerto, giving the canyon its name. A group of soldiers had moved deep into the canyon. Navajo elders, women, and children hid in a cave high on the canyon wall, which the Spaniards could not reach. Most of the healthy Navajo men were away hunting. The Spaniards split into two parties: one group marched up the canyon bottom while the other moved along the rim. The soldiers in the canyon attacked but could not reach the cave, from which the Navajos hurled stones and arrows.

Meanwhile the party on the rim could not find the location of the Navajos. But their hiding place was revealed when an excited old woman began yelling curses at the Spaniards below. She did not know that there were also soldiers above. These soldiers, having found the cave, began firing. Their bullets struck the huddled Indians directly or bounced off the walls and hit the people. When the shooting stopped, only two wounded men had survived. The spot earned a new name: Massacre Cave.

Thirty-three Navajos, including a leader named Segundo, went back to the Rio Grande with the Spanish army as prisoners.

This war led to Spain's first formal peace treaty with the Navajos. The Spaniards forced severe terms on the Indians. The Navajos gave up Cebolleta. They agreed to stop stealing Spanish stock, to return captives, and to have nothing to do with any enemies of the Spaniards. The tribe also had to turn over anyone who raided. The Spaniards demanded the return of more than 1,000 sheep, 150 cattle, and 60 horses. The governor told the Indians that they could no longer expect gifts when they came to Santa Fe. He also ordered them not to come closer to the Rio Grande than the Canyon de Juan Tafoya, the Rio del Oso, and San Mateo. All of these places were on the slopes of the Cebolleta or San Mateo Mountains. Cristobal, Vicente, and Segundo, leaders of the Navajos, agreed to these terms.

By the time of this treaty (1805), Navajos lived on land from the Rio Grande all the way to the Hopi Pueblos. In addition to raising stock, they continued to cultivate the soil, using hoes made of oak or of iron obtained from the Spaniards. Their woolen textiles were thought to be the best in Sonora and Chihuahua, as well as New Mexico.

The treaty did not stop the Navajos from causing trouble for New Mexico, where the Spaniards had a new problem. France had sold Louisiana to the United States in 1803, and, before 1810, Anglo-Americans began to reach Santa Fe. Spain feared the effect these outsiders might have on the hostile Indians. Because the Spaniards thought the Americans would encourage the Indians to fight, Spanish officials watched tribes such as the Navajos closely. A second, older problem also returned. Once again a Navajo-Gila Apache league brought fighting to the western frontier.

The Mexican Revolution

The Spaniards were unable to solve their problems with the Indians. By 1808 the old land disputes around Cebolleta and the Rio Puerco had become so complex that they could not be solved. Warfare went on into 1810, when the Mexican Revolution for a time destroyed all hopes of peace. The Navajos and other Indians were able to make use of the fact that Spain took troops and money from New Mexico to fight the revolution. Soldiers turned to cheating and illegal trade to make up for their lower pay. Indian gifts were no longer made. New Mexicans were able to make only half-hearted campaigns and patched-up truces. Many Navajos stayed at peace, using trade and their own economy more than

raiding. After 1810 a war between the Navajos and Comanches also limited the raids. But, while Spain turned its attention to the rebels in the south, some Navajos raided when they could.

The Navajo threat forced the Spaniards to remove all of their herds from the frontier in 1818. By January 1819, though, Governor Facundo Melgares was ready to invade Navajoland once again. During this invasion, enough Navajos were killed to force the headmen to request peace. But, before the treaty-making could get underway, raids began again. Soldiers moved against the People during the spring and summer. At last, in August, peace came.

Melgares made a treaty with Joaquin, Gordo, Vincente, Salvador, and Francisco. In that treaty, the Navajos agreed to give up all persons involved in crimes against the New Mexicans. They also allowed the settlers to graze their stock a certain distance within Navajoland. And they agreed to send one of their leaders to Santa Fe as a hostage. The Spaniards agreed to return all captives and to punish anyone who injured the Navajos. The office of General of the Navajos was restored, and the Spaniards chose Joaquin to hold the title.

But the Navajos did not keep the terms of the treaty. They had good reason not to. When forty of their people went to Jemez on a peaceful trading mission, they were murdered. Governor Melgares, frustrated by Navajo resistance, decided in 1822 to impose much harsher terms. He called for a treaty which would set a New Mexican boundary running through Bear Springs, Chuska, and Tunicha to the San Juan. Under its terms, the Navajos would turn over all captives and refugees. They were to allow traders to enter their lands. And they would have to permit the Spaniards to punish both Navajos and New Mexicans who disobeyed the treaty. The boundary would have taken the portion of Navajo land in which the largest part of the tribe probably lived.

Governor Melgares must have known how hopeless it was to try to enforce such a treaty. The Navajos had been defeated, but they were not likely to agree to such extreme Spanish demands. At last they agreed to a treaty that did not limit their land so severely. This time, Melgares asked the Navajos if they wanted a general. He demanded only that Segundo hold the office if it was restored.

Mexico gained its independence in 1821. In many ways, the change from Spanish to Mexican rule meant little to the Navajos. But the People soon learned that, while the Mexicans were trying to set up their new government, affairs in Santa Fe were often

upset as much as those in Mexico City. The weak and bankrupt Mexican government gave the Navajos new chances to raid. But it also had less control over persons who trespassed on Navajo lands or raided for slaves and booty.

Once Spain was pushed out of North America, Anglo-Americans found themselves free to visit New Mexico. Traders and trappers soon moved out of the New Mexican towns onto Indian lands. To keep safe, these traders had to maintain good relations with the Indians when possible. Still, they had little real respect for Indian rights. If they knew that they had greater strength, they often fought or injured their Indian hosts. Most of the Anglo-Americans did not like the rules New Mexicans made to control their actions. So the trappers and traders often aroused the Indians against the settlers of the Rio Grande. Overall, the Anglo-Americans' presence caused more attacks on the New Mexicans.

Governors and the Slave Trade

The New Mexicans themselves did much to anger the Indians. At one point, a group of Navajos, including some leaders, were killed at Cochiti after being invited to make a treaty. The Navajos reacted with fury. In 1822 the strength of their attacks forced New Mexican officials to warn all persons trying to reach Santa Fe.

Many of the Mexican governors at Santa Fe showed more concern for getting rich than for bringing peace. Slaves and the loot which could be taken during "wars" with the Navajos gave these men a welcome addition to their wages. José Antonio Vizcarra, who took office in 1823, conspired to force the Navajos into such a war. At the same time, he pretended to seek a new treaty.

The Navajos had been quiet since the treaty with Governor Melgares in the fall of 1822, but Vizcarra demanded that they agree to new terms in February 1823. He proposed a treaty that the Navajos could not accept. It required the Indians to turn over all captives. The New Mexicans, on the other hand, would give up only captives who wished to leave. Any captives who wanted to be Catholics would not be asked to return to their people. And the New Mexicans would be urged to convert the captives and convince them to stay. Vizcarra also wanted the Navajos to hand over all stock and goods they had stolen. The most difficult demand was that all the Navajos become Catholic and settle in pueblos!

The Navajos agreed to the first demand, but they did not trust Vizcarra. So they asked that the New Mexicans return all of the People. Vizcarra told them he would not surrender captives until all his terms had been met. The Navajos also claimed that they could not afford to repay all of the stolen goods. And they asked for more time to talk over the demands to become Catholic and move to pueblos. Vizcarra gave them four months to discuss the matter among themselves.

Vizcarra did not expect the Navajos to agree to the treaty. He only needed an excuse for his so-called war, which was actually little more than a large slave-raid. While the Navajos talked over his terms, he drew up a plan for war and decided how to divide the plunder. Even before the time had run out, he ordered his soldiers to move. When the Navajos did not respond at the end of the given time, Vizcarra's campaign began.

From July to October, the New Mexican soldiers marched through Navajo country. They reached as far as the junction of the San Juan and Colorado rivers and the Hopi town of Oraibi. Most of the Navajos avoided the invaders, for their homelands gave them many hiding places. But many of the People died, and still others were captured.

In October a government committee met to discuss the need for war. Instead they decided to seek peace. But they chose Vizcarra to lead the peace talks. Though other New Mexicans did not agree with Vizcarra's ideas about the way the Navajos should be treated, reports that some forty-six Americans were visiting the Navajos and giving them firearms helped Vizcarra keep the war from ending for a time.

By January 1824, though, the efforts of Navajo leaders such as Cayetano and Chato to restore peace had paid off. New peace talks were held at Jemez. A treaty, whose terms are unknown, was signed in June. It brought at least a short-term peace.

But peace could not last long while New Mexican slavers failed to honor any agreements. Their forays always led to Navajo revenge. During the Mexican era, the cycle of mutual raiding by New Mexicans and Navajos often seemed a permanent part of life on the frontier. At times the Navajos seemed to be doing better than their enemies. The settled, poorly-guarded New Mexicans were always open to bold, lightning-fast raids. In contrast, the Navajos lived in small camps across a vast country about which the New Mexicans knew little. This land had many hiding places on

mountain and mesa tops and in canyon bottoms, where the Navajos could retreat in times of danger.

In October 1832, the Navajos made two daring attacks on the army at Socorro. The raiders took the soldiers' horses, so the army could not chase them. At this time, New Mexico's frontier towns seldom had a day free of the fear of Navajo raids. The Pueblos suffered too. During this period, a Navajo leader on a trading visit to the Hopi Pueblos was killed in an argument. Hearing of his death, his sister led a war party in an attack on the Hopi town of Oraibi. The Navajos killed many of the people in the town.

When the New Mexicans managed to organize troops to punish the raiders, the Navajos often defeated them. Late in 1835, a party of volunteer soldiers set out to fight the Navajos. But the People heard of their approach and were ready to meet them. As the poorly-organized troops came to a mountain pass, hidden warriors fired at them. The soldiers fled in mass confusion, leaving two or three of their comrades dead.

The Navajos agreed to another peace treaty in 1835, but once again they soon learned that the New Mexicans could not be trusted. Two year later, the New Mexicans broke the treaty by destroying Navajo homes near Ojo del Gallo, Chuska, and Canyon de Chelly. In 1838 Governor Manuel Armijo killed 78 Navajos, took 76 prisoners, and stole 2,500 sheep and mules and 1,500 bushels of corn.

In 1839 the Navajos led by Cayetano again sought a truce with the enemy. At Jemez they agreed to make peace, trade with New Mexico, and surrender all their captives. But the New Mexicans did not have to give up theirs. Both parties agreed to help each other in wars against other peoples. And the Navajos agreed to allow Mexicans the right to punish outlaws from either side. But this treaty had no more success than any of the others. New talks and treaties were needed in 1841 and 1844. Their terms did not differ a great deal from those of earlier ones. The question of whether New Mexicans as well as Navajos should return captives was still a major point of disagreement.

The Endless Cycle

Overall, from 1770 to 1846, the Navajos in New Mexico were part of an endless cycle of war, treaties, and more war. Heavy mutual raiding maintained the cycle. The New Mexicans, for their part, made many slave-raids. This angered the Navajos and led

them to attack in return. Both the innocent and the guilty suffered in this cycle. Except for a brief time in the 1770s and 1780s, Spanish and Mexican leaders made little effort to conduct Indian relations in a just and sensible way. Their Indian policy was selfish and confused.

During this time, the Navajos gained strength. They added to their skill at resisting the New Mexicans. But much of that strength grew from fear. All Navajos knew that their enemies could attack at any time. The People came to have more cultural unity. They were more and more one people living similar lives. Sheep-raising spread through Navajoland. It became as familiar a part of Navajo life as farming, hunting, and gathering. Unique Navajo clothing appeared, including silver jewelry and the blankets which quickly became famous. But, despite the lifestyle that the People shared, the Navajos did not have political unity. Men and women acted on their own. Their loyalty went first to the clan.

Although there was never a sharp break with the past, many changes came to the Navajo way of life. By the late nineteenth century, when this photograph was taken, silverwork, trade goods, metal tools, and European-style clothing had become as much a part of Navajo life as the hogan in which these men sit. A. G. Wharton James photograph, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

At times this independence made relations with other peoples difficult. Attempts to impose unity on the Navajos by choosing tribal leaders for them failed. Treaties could never control all of the tribe. While some Navajos fought the New Mexicans, others always stayed friendly. As the years passed, the people who lived near Cebolleta came in closer and closer contact with New Mexicans. Because their homes were less secure, these Navajos sided more and more with the settlers. Their feelings differed more and more from those of their kinsmen. Often the New Mexicans tried to use the Cebolleta Navajos against the rest of the tribe. In 1839 the New Mexicans chose Antonio Sandoval, the man who would one day symbolize these "Enemy Navajos," as captain of the entire tribe. The rest of the Navajos ignored the choice. Such actions by New Mexicans meant little to them.

Years of contact taught the People not to trust Europeans. These men might appear at any time to kill and destroy and then disappear, taking children and women with them. To the Navajos, these years from 1770 to the 1840s had been a time of fearing. But they knew they were strong. They did not know that soon a people who would be able to defeat them would come to Navajoland.

The Utah Navajos during the Fearing

Of all the Navajos, those who lived in what is now Utah were least known to the New Mexicans. By the nineteenth century, New Mexico's leaders knew that some Navajos lived north and west of the Hopi Pueblos. Because of their interest in the Hopis, they could not ignore these Navajos. But Spaniards rarely noted that members of the Navajo tribe lived far to the north. And New Mexicans never included those people in their plans for the tribe as a whole.

José Antonio Vizcarra, who covered large areas during his 1823 attack on the Navajos, was the first New Mexican to report a meeting with the northern groups. Chasing the Navajo leader Juanico north of the Hopi mesas, Vizcarra reached Paiute Canyon near Navajo Mountain. There he attacked two Paiute camps by mistake. The Navajos were then at war with the Paiutes, and Vizcarra saw much evidence that Navajos were also in the area. Though the New Mexicans at last sighted Juanico on Skeleton Mesa north of Marsh Pass, Vizcarra had to return to the south empty-handed. But he had learned that Navajos and Paiutes shared a large region north of Black Mesa.

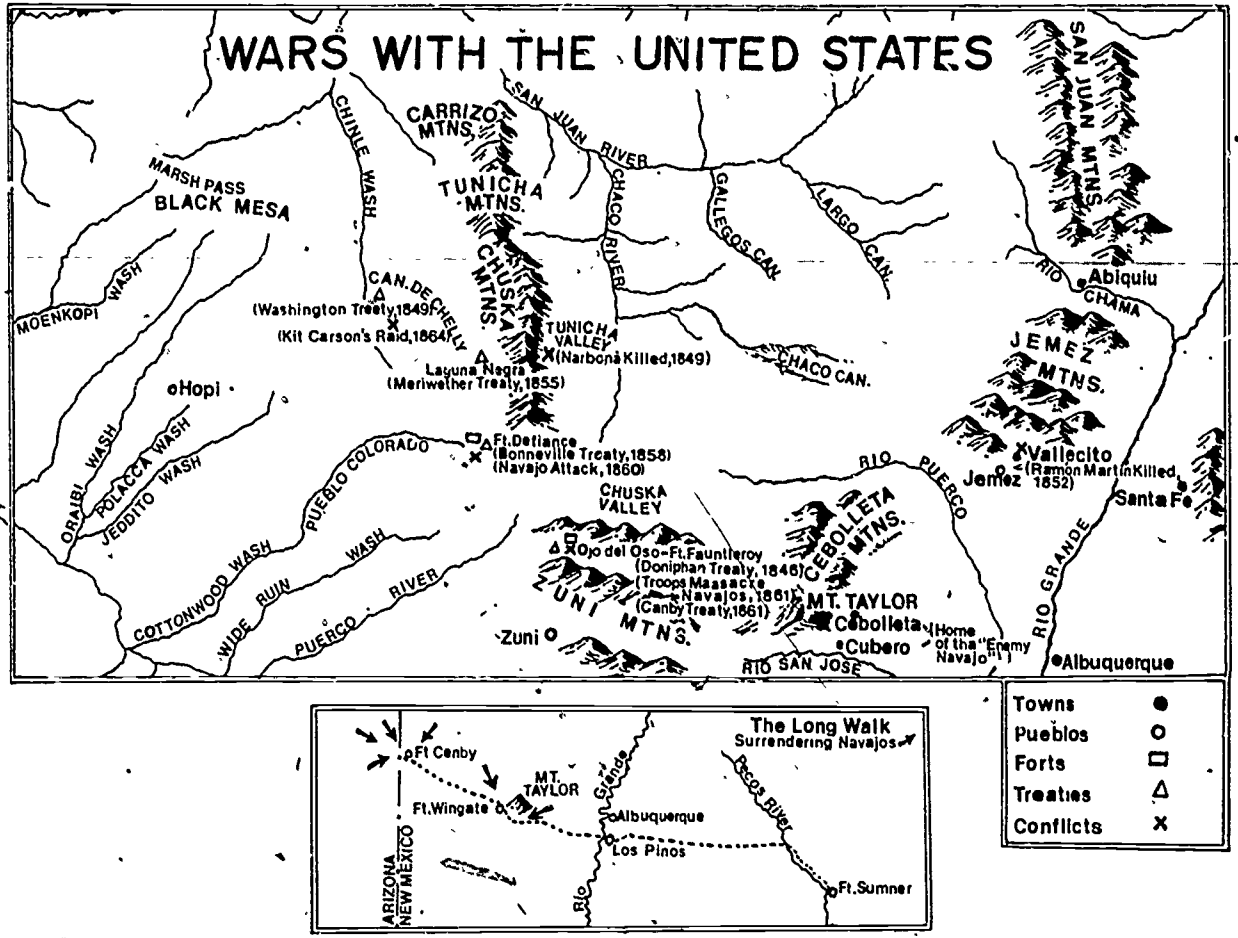
During the same campaign, Francisco Salazar led a second group of Mexican soldiers over much the same ground. Salazar went as far as the junction of the San Juan and Colorado rivers. A short distance from the junction, he too attacked a Paiute camp. About one hundred Navajos were seen escaping from the camp. A few days later, Salazar saw the tracks of Navajo livestock headed north toward Bear's Ears. He reported that the Navajos stayed north of the San Juan River. They already knew the value of the northern country as a refuge.

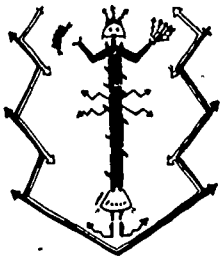
Twelve years later, in 1835, the New Mexicans learned more about the northern Navajos. That year the Utes reported that the Navajos were living in the La Plata and Sleeping Ute mountains next to the Utes. The Utes told the New Mexicans that the Navajos planned to plant crops there in the spring.

Anglo-Americans were also learning that the People were widely scattered. As American trappers pushed into Utah in the 1820s, they met Navajos. In 1826, for instance, James Ohio Pattie reported meeting the People on the San Juan River near its junction with the Colorado. In 1839 another western traveler, T. J. Farnham, drew a map that showed Navajos north of the San Juan, reaching almost to present-day Monticello.

The names of some of the Navajos who lived in this region have come down through history, preserved by Navajo tradition. Foremost among these people was K'aa'yélii, a leader of the northerners. He was born about 1801 just north of Bear's Ears, near Kigalia Spring, a place later named for him. Another headman, Kee Diniihí, was born in White Canyon about 1821. Two of White Sheep's grandparents were born in the 1820s, one at the lower crossing of the San Juan River and another near Bear's Ears. Hastin Beyal remembered that he had been born about 1832 in Grand Gulch, southwest of Bear's Ears. Paul Goodman's great-grandmother was born near Bear's Ears early enough to have a twenty-year-old daughter at the time of the Long Walk.

The number of Navajos north of the San Juan was growing when the United States conquered the Southwest. At first the northerners would have as little to do with the newcomers as they had with the Spaniards and Mexicans. Soon, though, the war raging to the south would reach these remote Navajos.


WARS WITH THE UNITED STATES
CARRIZO MTNS.
SAN JUAN RIVER
CHINLE WASH
MARSH PASS
BLACK MESA
TUNICHA MTNS.
CHUSKA MTNS.
CHACO RIVER
GALLEGOS CAN.
LARGO CAN.
SAN JUAN MTNS.
RIO CHAMA
Abiquiu
MOENKOPI WASH
CAN. DE CHELLY
(Washington Treaty, 1849)
(Kit Carson's Raid, 1864)
TUNICHA VALLEY
(Narbona Killed, 1849)
Laguna Negra
(Meriwether Treaty, 1855)
CHACO CAN.
JEMEZ MTNS.
Hopi
ORAIBI WASH
POLACCA WASH
JEDDITO WASH
Ft. Defiance
(Bonneville Treaty, 1858)
(Navajo Attack, 1860)
PUEBLO COLORADO
RIO PUERCO
Vallecito
(Ramon Martin Killed, 1852)
Jemez
Santa Fe
CHUSKA VALLEY
Ojo del Oso-Ft. Fauntleroy
(Doniphan Treaty, 1846)
(Troops Massacre Navajos, 1861)
(Canby Treaty, 1861)
CEBOLLETA MTNS.
MT. TAYLOR
Cebolleta
(Home of the "Enemy Navajo")
Cubero
ZUNI MTNS.
Zuni
COTTONWOOD WASH
WIDE RUIN WASH
PUERCO RIVER
RIO SAN JOSE
RIO GRANDE
Albuquerque
Towns
Pueblos
Forts
Treaties
Conflicts
The Long Walk
Surrendering Navajos
Ft Canby
MT. TAYLOR
Ft. Wingate
Albuquerque
Los Pinos
Ft. Sumner
Rio Grande
Pecos River
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO



VIII. BILAGÁANA NINÁÁDĄĄ': THE COMING OF THE WHITEMEN

A New Invader

New Mexicans and Navajos were in a state of constant warfare by 1846. Neither side could hope for a clear victory. Then, on May 13, 1846, the United States Congress declared war with the Republic of Mexico. By August Colonel Stephen W. Kearny stood on the borders of New Mexico with an American army, ready to conquer the enemy's northern provinces. This new force was to break the deadlock between the New Mexicans and the hostile Indians.

Kearny's trooops entered the New Mexican town of Las Vegas on August 15. Speaking from the roof of one of the town buildings, General Kearny told a crowd that he had taken control of the province. It was his duty to protect the New Mexicans. The Navajos, he said, posed a threat to the country's peace. His government, he promised, would stop the Indians from taking women and sheep. He did not understand that, in this centuries-old conflict, Navajos also needed protection from the New Mexicans.

Our War, Your Treaty

Kearny quickly took action. He ordered Colonel Alexander Doniphan to lead the army into Navajo country. The army was to bring back all prisoners and property taken from the New Mexicans. Kearny also told his officers to make peace among the Navajos, Mexicans, Pueblos, and Americans. If no treaty could be signed, the army would go to war with the Navajos. The army sent the Navajo headman Sandoval to discuss the possibility of a peace treaty with other Navajo leaders. At the time, Sandoval and his people, who lived at Cebolleta, had a unique friendship with the New Mexicans. Their fellow tribesmen called them "Enemy Navajos" because they often sided with the New Mexicans in war.

After two weeks, Sandoval reported that the Navajo headmen wanted peace, but first they wanted to meet with the Americans in

the heart of Navajoland. A small group of army volunteers followed Sandoval as far as Ojo del Oso, or Bear Springs. Here they met some of the Navajos' greatest leaders, including the aged and sick Narbona. Led by this great man, the Navajo headmen agreed to come to Santa Fe to make a treaty.

At Ojo del Oso, the soldiers saw a large group of Navajos for the first time. The Americans were amazed. One soldier said that they were an "enlightened" tribe. Many soldiers even took to wearing Navajo clothes. Others were impressed by the Navajos' rich culture. They watched the People display their skilled horsemanship, throw lances at rings, gamble with dice, and weave blankets. The equal status and freedom of Navajo women also startled the Americans, who were used to thinking of their own wives as less capable than men.

While these troops went back to Cebolleta, another army group marched into the northern portion of Navajoland. Starting up the Rio Chama from Abiquiu, they crossed over to the San Juan River and followed it west for more than forty miles. They noted that the valley of the San Juan was filled with Navajos watering their horses and sheep. From the river, the troops turned southeast, crossed the Tunicha Mountains, and passed within a few miles of the Canyon de Chelly. This they thought was a Navajo fortress. After marching for a month, the troops reached Ojo del Oso.

The Navajos had not come to Santa Fe as agreed. They had heard that the army and New Mexicans planned to kill them. So Colonel Doniphan led his troops from Cebolleta back to Ojo del Oso, where they joined the soldiers from the north. When the Navajos saw the army approach in peace, they were willing to make a treaty.

Still they could not understand why the soldiers were so upset over Navajo–New Mexican warfare. An impressive young headman, Zarcillas Largo, replied to Doniphan's request for a treaty:

> Americans! You have a strange cause of war against the Navajos. We have waged war against the New Mexicans for several years. We have plundered their villages and killed many of their people, and made many prisoners. We had just cause for all this. You have lately commenced a war against the same people. . . . You have therefore conquered them, the very thing we have been attempting to do for so many years.

> You now turn upon us for attempting to do what you have done ourselves. We cannot see why you have cause of quarrel with us for fighting the New Mexicans on the west, while you do the same thing on the east. . . . This is *our war*. We have more right to complain of you for interfering in our war, than you have to quarrel with us for continuing a war we had begun long before you got here. If you will act justly, you will allow us to settle our own differences.

Doniphan told the headman that the American conquest made New Mexico a part of the United States. When the Navajos fought New Mexico, they were also fighting the United States. The army could not put up with this any longer. It would be better, he said, if the Indians could trade with the newcomers and learn from them the new skills they had brought. Zarcillas Largo and thirteen other Navajo leaders agreed. They signed a treaty in which both sides promised peace, friendship, trade, free travel, and the return of all stolen goods and captives.

Then the American troops left to take part in the larger war in Mexico. The treaty, it turned out, had no effect on the fighting along the New Mexican frontier. The promises of a few important Navajos could not control the actions of the entire tribe. For almost a year after the Doniphan treaty, Navajos made daily raids. They could not forget that perhaps as many as 6,000 Indians, mostly children, were slaves in New Mexican homes. Mexican raids on the Navajos also continued. One such party came back to Socorro with at least 40 captives, 75 horses, and 1,500 sheep. Ten Navajos and one Mexican had died during the raid.

Confusion and Conflict

Charles Bent led the new government of New Mexico. He was also superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico. His first reports to Washington showed what a problem the Navajos seemed to the American government. At least 7,000, and perhaps 14,000, Navajos were spread through a remote, vast area between the San Juan and Gila rivers. They owned 30,000 cattle, 500,000 sheep, and 10,000 horses and mules. Some people had 5,000 to 10,000 sheep. Their wealth and their distant homes gave them

protection. Though Bent thought the Navajos were "warlike," he also knew they were quite secure. They were smart, hard working, and able to provide for all their needs. Their numbers also kept on growing, and this increased his task.

In September 1847, Colonel Newby led a new campaign against the Navajos. Newby's men did little more than push six miles into Canyon de Chelly, but they were the first Americans to enter the canyon. The Navajos had all fled to the San Juan River, taking their stock and harvest with them. Understanding what such armed invasions meant, some Navajo leaders went to Santa Fe in late November. There they agreed to keep the peace. Quiet returned to New Mexico until the spring.

Then, in spring 1848, Navajo raids resumed. American officials began to doubt that they could bring peace to the frontier. They could not understand why this fearless tribe would not keep its promises of peace. Were the Navajos simply dishonorable? Would anything short of complete war control them? The American leaders thought they knew the answers to these questions, but they were wrong. They had seen only one side of the age-old conflict. They understood the complaints of the settled New Mexicans, whose lifestyle was like their own. But the Navajos' lifestyle and motives were hard for the Americans to understand.

The Navajos were men of honor. They acted in a way which was true to centuries of tradition. They would defend their people, their homes, and their lands from old foes. If they also added to their wealth at the expense of the enemy, that was all the better, for such was the way of war. Such warfare had grown from the conflict between two lifestyles. The New Mexicans had tried to force all people to live the way they did. They had often killed or made slaves of those who resisted. The Navajos saw no need to give up their entire lifeway. They were Diné, and they would remain Diné.

The theft of Navajo children, stock, and land had given the Navajos good reason to seek revenge. From time to time, some Navajo leaders had agreed to treaties. But each Navajo was a free man or woman, loyal first of all to family and clan. Besides, such "treaties of friendship" had been little more than temporary truces. They did not erase many years of anger or solve the old

problems. If his family were in need, a Navajo knew that the property of his foes was fair game.

In spite of what the enemy said, the Navajos were not a warlike people. Most of them lived quietly, raising sheep and horses, growing crops, hunting game, and gathering plants. War would continue, though, until the enemy would also keep the peace and honor the Navajos' right to live their own lives. The only other choice was war, until one side or the other was completely defeated. Unfortunately, that was the choice that the Americans made.

In 1848 a new commander in New Mexico gave the Navajos still more reason to fight. He allowed the New Mexicans to attack the Indians openly. When this failed to stop the Navajos, the army entered Navajo country again. After a few minor battles, eight Navajo leaders signed another treaty. Only four of them had signed the Doniphan treaty. Like the leaders who had signed earlier treaties, these men could not speak for all the independent Navajos.

Narbona's Death and the Washington Treaty

In 1849 a new man came to Santa Fe as superintendent of Indian affairs. That man, James S. Calhoun, tried to solve the Navajo problem. But a lack of men, money, and understanding limited his choices as they had limited those of earlier officials. When the most recent treaty failed, Calhoun joined Colonel John M. Washington, governor of New Mexico, in a new campaign against the Navajos.

Washington left Jemez in August 1849. The troops marched west to the Tunicha Valley at the foot of the Chuska Mountains, where the Navajos had planted large cornfields. The soldiers, lacking pasture for their horses, let the animals graze on the crops. Seeing that the troops were a threat, the Navajos quickly came forward to talk. The great leader Narbona, who lived there, led the talks for the People. Washington and Calhoun stated that they had come to punish the Indians for raiding. The Navajo leaders explained that they were unable to control all of their men, but that they would pay for all stolen goods and captives. The Ameri-

cans said that they were on their way to the Canyon de Chelly to sign a treaty with the whole Navajo nation. Narbona and the other headmen promised to do their best to see that the Navajos kept the treaty's terms. They showed their good faith by turning over 130 sheep and 4 or 5 mules and horses.

But then a poorly-handled argument destroyed the good feelings. A Mexican among Washington's troops claimed that one of the Indians had a horse that had been stolen from him. Washington demanded that the Indians return the horse at once. The Navajos refused, saying that they had taken it back to the place where it was stolen once, but the owner had failed to claim it. Thus he had given up his right to it. Besides, the Navajo who had the horse had fled during the confusion. When Washington told his troops to seize another horse in payment, the whole crowd of Navajos mounted their horses and sped off. Washington ordered his soldiers to shoot. With guns and cannons they shot at the fleeing Indians, killing Narbona and six other Navajos.

Then the troops marched to the mouth of Canyon de Chelly. There Navajo leaders, knowing the soldiers' strength, signed their third treaty with the Americans. Though the Navajos agreed to the treaty, many of them resented the Americans' actions. The soldiers had killed Narbona, one of the most respected Navajos, a man who had worked hard for peace. They had killed him because of a horse, even though it had belonged to another Navajo and the leader had little say in the argument. Horses made a Navajo what he was. They were the most personal of property. And the Americans had taken the word of an enemy, a New Mexican, without discussing the matter with the Navajos. They had given the Navajos no choice but surrender or death.

This treaty, signed by Mariano Martinez of the Canyon de Chelly Navajos and Chapitone of the San Juan Navajos, was the most important yet signed. The first to be approved by the United States Congress, it became the model for later treaties. Declaring peace and friendship between the Navajos and the United States, the treaty extended American jurisdiction and protection to the tribe. It also applied the American laws of trade and relations with Indian tribes to the Navajos. The United States agreed to punish anyone who committed crimes against the Navajos. The government reserved the right to set up army forts and trading posts

within Navajoland. The Americans also agreed to set boundaries for the Navajos and provide gifts for the tribe. In return the Navajos granted free and safe passage to Americans crossing their lands. They also had to return all captives and stolen property to Jemez by October 9.

Calhoun and Washington should have known that this treaty would have little effect. Navajo leaders had already signed many papers, but no leader could control all of the tribesmen. Although many Navajos truly thought that the time had come for peace, the tribe was divided. The death of Narbona gave Navajos more reason to seek revenge. And most of those who signed treaties were *ricos*, men with large herds. Peace gave them security. But for many of the *pobres*, who did not have large herds, raiding was the easiest way to become *ricos*.

The Navajos did not come to Jemez on October 9 as promised. They had planned to come and return all stolen goods and captives, but Mexican traders told them that the Pueblos, Mexicans, and American soldiers planned to kill them all. Throughout October, Calhoun tried to get the Navajos to comply with the treaty. But then he gave up. He began to urge war. The United States, he said, should conquer and confine the Navajos. Little changed through 1850, a year of constant war on the frontier.

In early 1851, Calhoun took on the duties of governor as well as those of the superintendent of Indian affairs. The Indian problem frustrated him, and he took stronger action against the Navajos. He had already outlawed trade with them in late 1849, hoping to stop the damage done by some of the traders. Now he allowed volunteer companies to attack the Indians. As payment, the volunteers were allowed to take anything they could capture or steal. One more great Navajo leader, Chapitone of the San Juan Navajos, was brutally murdered. Such acts and policies only angered the People further.

Fort Defiance

In July Colonel Edwin Sumner took over command of the army in New Mexico. He quickly began new efforts against the Navajos. Sumner marched to Canyon de Chelly, pushing several miles into the Navajo stronghold. The Navajos harassed the

troops from the canyon walls, but they could not keep Sumner from destroying their crops. Though Sumner had to turn back without forcing the Navajos into a clear-cut battle, he had decided to control the Indians on their home ground. He would build a fort deep in Navajoland at Canyon Bonito.

The post was called Fort Defiance. It was built on a Navajo sacred site. Though it was hard for the army to supply the remote fort, Sumner was sure this would be the best way to control the Navajos. He knew that a single campaign could not end an old Indian war. And he feared that the Navajo tribe would have to be destroyed if the Fort Defiance plan failed.

Fort Defiance did not have the sudden impact its founder desired. Navajo raids went on. Increased tension between the army and civil leaders in New Mexico helped delay an answer to the problem. Governor Calhoun was upset by the ongoing war. He heard the complaints of New Mexicans who thought that they should have the right to arm themselves against the Navajos. As head of the army, however, Sumner refused to give arms to people who, he said, were little more than "Mexican marauding parties." He knew that *mutual* raiding had gone on between Navajos and New Mexicans for two hundred years. He saw that the country needed to change the old pattern instead of repeating it. Fort Defiance was Sumner's answer. But it could only work, he knew, if it protected as well as punished the Navajos.

This argument between the two leaders kept them from forming a common front. Both wanted to punish the Navajos, but they could not agree about how to do it. Sumner would not take Indian agents with him when he dealt with the Navajos. Calhoun and New Mexico's citizens would not place any volunteers under army control. At last, the Navajos solved the problem by asking for peace talks.

The Navajos knew that Fort Defiance was a serious threat. Their homes, crops, and livestock were open to soldiers from the post. And the distant United States government had decided that the problem in New Mexico needed peaceful solutions. Both Sumner and Calhoun, who had felt a need to punish the Navajos, were now overruled. On Christmas Day, 1851, they met with two

hundred Navajos at Jemez. After warning the Navajos about what the soldiers could do if the tribe failed to behave, Calhoun and Sumner ended the meeting by giving out presents.

On January 27, 1852, some Navajos came back to Jemez to return three Mexican captives. Armijo, the leading Navajo present, spoke:

> I have come to tell my Great Father that my people wish to live in peace & quiet. We wish to cultivate the soil, as our fathers did before us. . . . By the labour of our own hands we wish to raise our own crops — and like the Sun we wish to follow the course of nature. The bows & arrows we carry are to shoot game with, the deer, the antelope & the Rabbit. . . .
>
> I have lost my Grandfather and two others of my family who were killed by Mexicans.
>
> I have never sought revenge . . . I wish to live in peace with everyone — I want to see my cattle & horses to be well grazed and my sheep to be safely herded. . . .
>
> We like the Americans — We have eaten their bread and meat — smoked their tobacco — the clothing they have given us has kept us warm in the cold winter and the snow — With the *hoes* they have given us we will cultivate our land.
>
> *We are struck dead with gratitude. . . .*
>
> *My people are all crying the same way* three of our chiefs now sitting before you mourn for their children — who have been taken from their homes by the Mexicans — More than 200 of our children have been carried off and we know not where they are — the Mexicans have lost but few children in comparison with what they have stolen from us. . . . How shall we get them again — We leave our Great Father to decide — From the time of Col. Newby we have been trying to get our children back again — Eleven times have we given up our captives — only once have they given us ours — My people are yet crying for the children they have lost.
>
> *Is it American justice that we must give up everything and receive nothing?*

Armijo's speech took the local Indian agent by surprise. Convinced that Armijo told the truth, he pleaded with his superior, Calhoun, to be just with the Navajos.

An Uneasy Peace

An uncommon state of peace came to the Navajo frontier in 1852. The Navajos were proving that, when treated fairly, they could live at peace with their neighbors. There were some minor cases of raiding, but it was the New Mexicans, not the Navajos, who thus broke the truce. Navajos brought these raids to the attention of Calhoun and his successor, John Greiner. Both men worked hard to control such actions. They asked that the Navajos bring any complaints against New Mexicans to them. To keep the Indians friendly, they gave out sheep, seeds, and tools.

William Carr Lane became governor and superintendent of Indian affairs in July 1852. He too gave the Navajos gifts to encourage them to stay at peace. When Sandoval spread rumors of a campaign against the tribe, Lane sent one of his Indian agents to calm the Navajos' fears. There were still problems, however. The renewal of trade meant that the Navajos were once more fair game for dishonest traders. New Mexicans pressed against the eastern frontier of Navajoland. The army could not completely halt the New Mexican raiding, and Navajo leaders still could not control the actions of all their tribesmen. The only Indian agent for the Navajos lived at Jemez, too far away to truly know Navajo conditions and problems. And Indian agents could not get enough money to carry out their plans. For one or all of these reasons, the fragile peace almost broke down in early 1853.

That spring, Navajos made several raids. The most serious came on May 3, when a small band killed Ramón Martín and took two boys captive near Vallecitos, New Mexico. The Navajos were seeking revenge for the theft of a horse and mule. Governor Lane exploded in rage over this act and sent an agent to Navajo country to demand the captives and murderers. Navajo leaders willingly gave up the boys but made it clear that they lacked the power to turn over the raiders. During the summer, leaders such as Aguila Negra and Armijo made every effort to please the Americans. They returned stock which had been taken in raids. But Governor Lane still demanded the surrender of the five Navajos wanted for the Martín murder. He set rewards for their capture and a deadline for their surrender. Colonel Sumner prepared his troops and sent a patrol from Fort Defiance to investigate.

During the following months, Lane and Sumner seemed slow to carry out their threats. Sumner pointed out how unfair it was to punish a whole nation for the actions of a few. The Navajos still showed strong desires for peace. Lane kept to his demands mostly because it helped his campaign for Congress. When he lost this race and left the territory, calm returned. David Meriwether took over as governor and superintendent, and Sumner was replaced.

Meriwether believed that the Navajos should pay for any crimes they committed. But most problems, he felt, came from the bad influence that whites had on the Indians. If the Navajos gave up the lands closest to white settlements, there would be less contact. This peace policy could work only if the Navajos were well provided with food and clothing, called "rations."

Red Shirt

This peace policy depended on the talents of the men who carried it out. The government chose an Indian agent to work with each tribe. These agents worked under a local superintendent like Meriwether. A very able agent was chosen for the Navajos. His name was Henry Linn Dodge, but the People called him Red Shirt. Dodge took over as Navajo agent in June 1853. Having been a soldier and trader on the Navajo frontier, he knew more about the tribe than any of the men who had been chosen as Navajo agents before. Still, he had a hard time setting Navajo borders. Each year, the wide-ranging New Mexican sheepherders pushed farther into Navajo country. The sheepherders depended on the army to protect them from the Navajos.

Dodge went far into Navajo country to be among the people he served. He moved freely among the Navajos, earning their trust by not taking an army escort. He began with a tour of Navajo country from Canyon de Chelly to the San Juan River. Taking only thirty Navajos, he followed Chinle Wash to the San Juan. He descended the river until it entered a deep canyon, then worked his way back south. Along the way he saw fine Navajo farms. On September 1, 1853, he brought a group of one hundred Navajos to Santa Fe to meet Governor Meriwether.

The Navajos and the new governor were impressed with each other. The governor noted the fine quality of the Navajos' clothing and blankets and their orderly and peaceful behavior. The People felt that the governor spoke honestly. They were pleased at

his promise to listen to their complaints as much as he listened to those of the whitemen. Meriwether urged the Indians to keep the treaty of 1849. The Navajos said they would look for the murderer of Ramón Martín. The governor called Zarcillas Largo "head chief" of the Navajos and gave him a medal as a badge of office.

For the next two and a half years, the Navajos showed the world that, even in this old war zone, peace was possible. Although they had good reasons to fight, they avoided any act which would bring back war. But the New Mexicans did not show as much desire to prevent friction. In October 1853, a district court declared that there was no longer any Indian country in New Mexico Territory. This was intended to open Navajo lands to white use and settlement.

Still the Navajos stayed at peace. When a Navajo killed a soldier near Fort Defiance in October 1854, the People sought out, captured, and turned over the accused man for the first time in their history. He was hanged at the fort in November. Such news revived Governor Meriwether's hopes, in spite of the court's decision. Perhaps, he thought, his plans for a treaty to define the limits of Navajoland could succeed.

At Fort Defiance, Dodge went on working for peace. Among other things he brought a silversmith and a blacksmith to teach the Navajos. Navajo silverwork would be famous in years to come. But Dodge's work came under a severe test in 1855, when Utes asked the Navajos to join in a war against New Mexico. The Navajos refused, and Dodge rewarded them with hoes and shovels. Soon the Utes were attacking the Navajos, hurting their efforts to remain peaceful.

Manuelito and the Final Years of Peace

In July 1855, Governor Meriwether set out to sign the treaty he had hoped for. Peace talks with the Navajos got under way July 16 at Black Lake, near the western approach to Washington Pass. During the meeting, Zarcillas Largo returned the staff of office and medal Meriwether had given to him. He said that he was too old to be head chief. The Navajos replaced him with Hastiin Ch'il Hajiní, better known as Manuelito. The key part of the treaty set boundaries for Navajoland. The western boundary ran south from the mouth of Chinle Wash on the San Juan River to the mouth of the Zuni River on the Little Colorado. Little was known about the western limits of Navajoland, so that border had little

In the mid-nineteenth century, some Americans, like Agent Henry Linn Dodge, encouraged Navajo silversmiths. Later, after the People returned from the Long Walk, the art flourished. This photograph, taken in the winter of 1892-1893, shows silversmith Pesh lakai ilhini' (left) hammering silver. A James Mooney photograph, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

importance at the time. The severe limits of the eastern boundary were far more important. This line began at the mouth of Gallegos Canyon on the San Juan and ran up the canyon to the divide between the Colorado and Rio Grande drainages. The line then headed southwest to the source of the Zuni River, which it followed to the Little Colorado.

The Navajos objected to this line, pointing out that it did not include many sacred places and other sites they often visited. When the governor gave them access to the Zuni Salt Lake and told them that the boundary did include the Carrizo Mountains, the Navajos reluctantly agreed to the new border. They also objected to the terms in the treaty requiring the tribe to give up all raiders. They pointed out the risk involved in capturing such men. Meriwether insisted on the point, though, and the Indians at last accepted it. In return for giving up large areas of their homeland, the tribe would get yearly payments, called "annuities." In the first years, the payments would be ten thousand dollars. Even this small amount, which was less than two dollars per person per year, would slowly decrease over the next twenty years.

The severe winter of 1855–1856 tested the peace. The Navajos crowded south to find shelter from the biting cold, and food to add to their short supplies. As spring broke, some Navajos turned to raiding. Reports came in that many sheep had been stolen and three sheepherders killed. Meriwether demanded the return of the sheep and the surrender of the raiders. The Navajos denied that so many sheep had been stolen but agreed to pay back what they could. They refused to capture the raiders, however. They told Dodge that those men had fled to the Utes, north of the San Juan River. Many sheep were returned in late May.

When New Mexicans killed two Navajos in June, the Navajo leaders refused to do any more. Governor Meriwether also learned that the New Mexicans had lied about their sheep losses. Navajo anger and distrust increased. The government was making impossible demands while New Mexicans took their stock farther and farther into Navajoland to graze. To make matters worse, some groups in New Mexico stopped Congress from passing the Meriwether treaty because they thought it favored the Navajos. They wanted still more limits on Navajoland.

Manuelito, among others, began letting the whites know that he had been pushed far enough. He grazed his stock on lands set aside by the Meriwether treaty for Fort Defiance. When the post commander objected, Manuelito told him that the land had been his since he was a child. He dared the officer to try and run him off. Agent Dodge saw that the post did not have enough troops to control the Navajos, so nothing was done. Minor clashes continued between Navajos and New Mexicans during the summer of 1856.

As 1856 progressed, a fragile peace returned to the region. During November, though, Apaches killed Henry Linn Dodge while he was hunting south of Zuni. Dodge had done more than any other American to build trust among the Navajos. With his death, it was only a matter of time before fighting returned, leaving New Mexico without a man who could calm the tensions. Other problems threatened the peace: Ute-Navajo fighting, New Mexican trespassing, and Navajo raiding. The grazing rights around Fort Defiance remained in dispute. Fighting almost broke out over grazing land during the summer of 1857. Still most of the Navajos worked to maintain the peace until 1858.

Events during the early months of 1858 brought New Mexico back to its normal state of off-and-on warfare. In February and March, New Mexicans made surprise attacks upon the Navajos.

Manuelito, born near Bear's Ears in Utah, became the most famous Navajo leader in the wars with the United States. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

They killed six Navajos, wounding and capturing others. Utes and New Mexicans joined for the March raid, proving that the Navajos' old foes had again united against them. Navajo raids soon followed. In May Major Thomas H. Brooks gave the order to slaughter sixty head of Manuelito's livestock, which were grazing on land set aside for Fort Defiance again. Then, on July 12, the incident that would push New Mexico out of six years of peace into another war began.

War

On that day, a Navajo man shot a fatal arrow at a black slave, Jim, owned by Major Brooks. The attack seemed to come without motive. Later Brooks learned that the Navajo had come to the fort looking for revenge after a family quarrel. Brooks, like many of New Mexico's officers, was from the South. He viewed the attack on his slave as a personal insult. Calling Zarcillas Largo before him, Brooks demanded that the murderer be turned over. Zarcillas Largo showed little concern, but said he would look into the murder when he returned from a trip to Zuni. He pointed out that nothing had been done to pay for Manuelito's cattle.

On July 22, Brooks set a twenty-day limit for the surrender of the Navajo man. Knowing the Indians either could not or would not comply, the officer prepared for war. Lieutenant Colonel D. S. Miles was sent to Fort Defiance with more troops to take charge of the campaign. In September the Navajos tried to avoid war by bringing a dead Mexican boy to the fort in place of the Navajo murderer. But Miles was not fooled. He quickly went into action against the tribe.

One premature battle between a band of Navajos and soldiers under Captain McLane had already taken place at Bear Springs. The Navajos were aware that the army planned to fight. So, Miles was able to do little in his first march through Canyon de Chelly but capture a few head of Navajo stock. The Navajos avoided a decisive battle. In late September, Miles led a second march into the Chuska Valley. Although the soldiers killed more Navajos and captured more stock, the People were not defeated.

In November the soldiers launched a large campaign. After passing through Tunicha Valley, around the Tunicha Mountains, and along the rim of Canyon del Muerto, two large columns of troops moved west to Black Mesa and the Hopi Pueblos. Reports had come in that the Navajos had fled to these regions. But, though the troops covered a wide area, the campaign accomplished little.

Navajo leaders knew that the war was disrupting the lives of their people. They came to Fort Defiance in November to ask for peace. Miles and the Navajo agent, S. M. Yost, felt the Navajos had been punished enough. Believing that the Navajos sincerely wanted peace, the officers and the agent agreed to a thirty-day truce. Colonel Bonneville and Superintendent James Collins opposed the truce. They wanted harsher terms to be written into it.

Before their orders could be put into effect, the truce period neared its end. The Navajos did not want to go to Albuquerque to sign a final peace, so Bonneville and Collins went to Fort Defiance for the talks.

The treaty was concluded on December 25, 1858. The Navajos' eastern limit was pushed farther west, to a line running from the head of the Zuni River to Bear Springs, and then to Chaco Canyon, along which it moved to the San Juan River. The Navajos had to make payment for all raids made during the war. They had to agree to be responsible as a tribe for any future raids. They promised to return all captives, to allow army patrols in their country, and to offer no shelter to the man who had killed Major Brooks' slave. Herrero was chosen as "head chief."

Agent Yost claimed that the treaty took much of the Navajos' best farming and grazing land. It might, he said, force them into the cycle of raiding again. But Collins was critical of Yost's presence at the McLane battle, his failure to use his power to prevent war, his failure to work with the army, and his role in the early truce. Agent Yost was soon out of a job. During the next years, one agent after another followed him. None was able to work out good relations with the Navajos.

The war had turned all of the peoples of New Mexico against the Navajos again. The Navajos began to see that no treaties could prevent some small act from starting the war again. Enemies surrounded them. Among the most serious foes were the Utes. In March 1859, Superintendent Collins tried to arrange a peace between the Utes and Navajos. But he failed. The hostile feelings between the two tribes ran too deep.

The Navajos could not comply with the strict terms of the latest treaty. Raiding went on, and Collins insisted on stronger enforcement of the treaty. Colonel Bonneville, hoping to avoid a new war, sent a scouting patrol through Navajo country to impress the Indians with the army's power. Many men in the army thought that the New Mexicans overstated their losses. Colonel Bonneville noted that a new campaign would only force the Navajos to depend all the more on raiding. Only a few, he pointed out, engaged in this practice during normal times.

A new agent, Silas Kendrick, met with the Navajos in September. He set a thirty-day deadline for them to make payment for their raids. The Navajos turned in some stock during October, but they continued to protest. They had been treated unfairly,

they said. They had never been paid for attacks made on their people. On October 25, Kendrick turned over control of the Navajos to the army. Tension had once again passed the point of no return. In November Major Shepherd, the commander of Fort Defiance, stopped a Navajo for having an army rifle that the major suspected was stolen. Although the Navajo had risked his life to bring a message from Agent Kendrick, the major had him whipped. This act gave the Navajos more reason to distrust the whites. Sooner or later, a new war would flare across the land. The new army commander, Colonel Thomas Fauntleroy, held back, though. He did no more than build a new post, Fort Fauntleroy, at Bear Springs.

On January 17, 1860, the Navajos made three attacks on grazing and wood details from Fort Defiance. They killed four soldiers and almost made off with the fort's cattle herd. A friendly headman had warned the soldiers of this attack. On January 20, this man, Agua Chiquito, came to the post to confer with Agent Kendrick. When Chiquito refused to speak with Shepherd, the major ordered his guards to fire on the leader. As a result, Major Shepherd lost his last chance for peace with the Navajos.

While Fauntleroy delayed, the Navajos stepped up their attacks on Fort Defiance, almost cutting it off from the rest of New Mexico. On April 30, more than one thousand Navajos launched an all-out attack. They got into the post and almost took it, but, after several hours of battle, they withdrew. As a result, the army chose Colonel Edward Canby to lead the largest campaign ever against the Navajos.

Utes, Pueblos, and New Mexicans were all readied to attack the Navajos. Several early patrols met with mixed results. The real campaign was begun October 12. Three large companies of troops took the offensive. Canby had heard that most of the Navajos had fled westward toward Black Mesa and Navajo Mountain. He led two companies toward that region. The third company moved along the western slope of the Chuska Mountains. Canby's men headed northwest across Black Mesa, reaching its northern rim in the region of Marsh Pass. They killed a few Navajos and took some stock before returning to Fort Defiance, but the bulk of the Navajos avoided them.

Until December Canby kept troops in the field. They did not catch many Navajos, but their constant movements hurt the People. A war party of New Mexicans and Pueblos had killed the great leader Zarcillas Largo in October when he single-handedly

charged into their midst. Mariano Martinez was also dead. When Navajos again asked for peace, Canby concluded that his campaign had been a success. In late December he arranged a truce.

Many of the Navajos' leaders came to Fort Fauntleroy on February 15, 1861. They agreed to submit themselves to the control of the United States and to make complete payment for all property taken or destroyed in raids. They would make war on the unruly men in their tribe. They would move west of Fort Fauntleroy. They also said that the entire tribe would comply with the treaty. The government agreed to take action against anyone who robbed the Navajos and to provide aid to the tribe when it was clear that they had complied with the treaty.

The Americans' Civil War

Two problems kept Canby from insuring the success of the treaty. First, he could not keep the New Mexicans from making bold slave-raids on the Navajos. Second, the Civil War broke out. That threw military affairs throughout the country into chaos. Even remote New Mexico was drawn into the turmoil. Officer turned against officer and soldier against soldier; the war soon raged along the Rio Grande. As if fifteen years had been wiped off the history books, Navajos and New Mexicans were soon fighting without American soldiers to interfere.

What little of the army remained only helped push New Mexico into another Indian war. The Navajos came to Fort Fauntleroy on September 22, 1861, for what had become a regular horse race with the soldiers. An officer won the race, but the Navajos claimed the win was unfair because a bridle had broken. The officer in command told his troops not to let the Indians enter the post. As a result, a guard shot an approaching Navajo. The scene soon turned to slaughter as the soldiers fired and charged with bayonets. Cannon shelled the fleeing Navajos. Women and children were massacred with the men. When it was over, twelve to fifteen Navajos were dead. For what was to be the final time, the Navajos went to war with New Mexico's whitemen.

The Utah Navajos When the Americans Came

While Americans fought with Navajos who lived along the present New Mexico-Arizona border, they were not sure how many members of the tribe lived in more remote regions. For many years, some Navajos had roamed north of the San Juan

River in Utah and Colorado. Some lived as far north as the La Sal and La Plata mountains. Bear's Ears, which could be seen for many miles around, was the site of many Navajo births. A group of Navajos normally lived and grazed their stock in this region. Their most important leader was K'aa'yélii or "One with Quiver." K'aa'yélii ranged widely, knowing all the region between the Uncompahgre Plateau in Colorado and the Henry Mountains to the west of the Colorado River. He moved freely from the La Sal Mountains on the north to Monument Valley on the south.

Navajos lived along the Dolores and Colorado rivers from modern Dolores, Colorado, all the way downstream to Moab, Utah. Others lived far to the west around Navajo Mountain and beyond Tuba City, Arizona. These people picked plants, hunted game, and grazed sheep as did their kinsmen to the south. Many of them also farmed. Most of the farms were in the valley of the San Juan River. This long, winding stream was home for the largest group of northern Navajos.

For many years the Navajos on the northern frontier had lived in peace with their closest neighbors, bands of Utes and Paiutes. Friction had sometimes arisen, but those Navajos living closest to the Utes normally managed to stay friendly with them.

Thus many Navajos had made their homes in a region which would later be held by the Utes. Even those who lived far to the south often came to the San Juan country to graze their stock or, more often, to gather plants and hunt game. The pinyon nuts in the La Sal Mountains were well known to the Navajos. Whenever the corn crops to the south failed to produce, the People moved north to gather the nuts.

The fact that many Navajos used the northern regions without always living there meant that those who really thought of the area as home varied in number. Ute pressure and marriage into the larger Navajo clans to the south kept their numbers fairly low. The great leader Manuelito, for example, lived his early life near Bear's Ears but moved south when he married. His wife was the daughter of Narbona, another great Navajo leader.

Navajos used the extreme northern and western reaches of their land for one other purpose. When their enemies pressed them too hard, the Navajos could retreat into what they called Náhonidzo', the Escaping Place. The Americans found this out soon after they came to New Mexico. Major Gilpin saw the many Navajos in the San Juan Valley in 1846. Major Walker learned in

1847 that Navajos from Canyon de Chelly had fled to the San Juan.

Despite such bits and pieces of information, the Americans knew very little about the San Juan Navajos. But they did know that this was an important branch of the tribe. In 1849 only two Navajo leaders signed the Washington Treaty, but one of them, called "the second chief," was Chapitone, "chief of the Navajos residing along the San Juan." Chapitone also signed the 1848 Newby Treaty before he was killed by New Mexicans in 1850.

By 1851 the Americans were aware of two Navajo groups living on the San Juan River, one on the upper and one on the lower river. These two groups were led by Cayetano and Caballado Mucho, respectively. By 1853 the country north of the San Juan had become a hideout for Navajos after raids, as well as a refuge for Navajos fleeing from army attacks. Some fugitives, like the men who killed Ramón Martín, lived with the Utes while hiding from the army.

Beginning in 1855, the Navajo-Ute peace began to break down. The Utes were at war and wanted the Navajos to join them. When the Navajos refused, the Utes began to attack them. From that time on, the two tribes never completely restored their friendship. Soon the positions of the two tribes toward the whites would reverse. The Navajos would be at war with the New Mexicans, while the Utes became their allies. Governor Meriwether in 1855 and Superintendent Collins in 1859 both tried to arrange peace between the two tribes. When war again came to Navajoland, though, the Utes joined the Americans fighting against the Navajos.

Some Navajos went on living in peace with the Utes, but they were thought of as renegades by their people. During the late 1850s, when the army asked for the surrender of people who had made raids, the Navajos said that the raiders were living with the Utes, beyond the reach of Navajo power.

Most of the northern Navajos, though, fled south from the Ute raids. Those who stayed north of the San Juan River were in constant danger. K'aa'yé ii's people were among the few who managed to survive in the rugged country around Bear's Ears. Later, when the threat of American power increased in the south, some Navajos again risked the Ute danger and escaped north of the San Juan River.

Even those south of the river were not always safe. In 1858

Utes crossed the Colorado River below the mouth of the San Juan and raided as far south as Canyon de Chelly. Many of the refugees from the raids fled to the region of Navajo Mountain and Paiute Canyon. But wherever the Navajos went, they found it more and more difficult to hide from their many enemies. As early as 1848, Mexicans had led slave-raids into Monument Valley. In 1850 they had raided as far west as Black Mesa.

The army also found it less difficult to move troops deep into Navajo country. The Miles campaign of November 1858 reached Black Mesa and the Hopi Pueblos. One of these parties, under Captain Macomb, moved along the Old Spanish Trail through southern Colorado. Along the way they met Cayetano on the Animas River. Near Moab they turned south through Utah. They passed the Abajo Mountains and went down Recapture Wash. They noted seeing Bear's Ears to the west on their way to the San Juan River. The Navajos seemed open to attack from all directions.

The Navajos living in the north had one more group of whites to deal with. The Mormon settlers of Salt Lake Valley began spreading through Utah in the 1850s. A group of them set up the Elk Mountain Mission at present-day Moab in 1855. Later, Mormons had regular contacts with the Navajos. Leaders such as Jacob Hamblin traded and met with the Navajos living closest to the Mormon towns and farms. The greatest contact was in the Navajo Mountain and Tuba City areas. There Hamblin became good friends with the Navajo leader Tódich'iinii Néz or Spaneshanks. It was several years before this friendship turned sour.

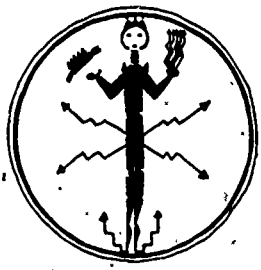
Other Navajos went as far north as Salt Lake City to trade, as they had with the Utes before the Mormons arrived. On one occasion, six Navajos led by Atsidii K'aa'k'ehii were attacked near modern Richfield on their return from such a trading trip. All but the leader were killed. Over the years, it became clearer to the Navajos that the Mormons were one more source of competition for their land. The initially friendly relations between the two groups became hostile. The Navajos knew that the Mormons gave the Utes guns that were used in raids. The Mormons, however, also tried to form a Ute-Navajo alliance in 1859. In that year, Navajo Agent Silas Kendrick heard that the Mormons were offering the Navajos aid in fighting the American soldiers. The Mormons told the Navajos not to comply with their treaty because the Americans were cheating them. The Navajos may have

agreed, but they would not have been likely to see any reason to trust the Mormons more than other Americans.

By 1860, when General Canby led his troops to Marsh Pass in response to news that many of the Navajos had fled west to Navajo Mountain, chaos reigned throughout Navajoland. Although Navajos at Navajo Mountain and north of the San Juan River may have been further from the reach of the army, they were by no means safe from attacks, especially from the Utes. The entire Navajo tribe was at war, and no Navajo could sleep easily until the war ended.

This Navajo man and woman, photographed in a studio in the 1880s, wear clothing like that many of the People wore in the mid-nineteenth century. The man carries a gun, as did many Navajo men after decades of war. The woman holds a Pueblo pot. An A. Frank Randall photograph, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

IX. HWÉÉLDI DÓÓ 'AHA'DEET'Ą: THE LONG WALK AND PEACE



A Reservation for the Navajos

When the Civil War took soldiers away from New Mexico, the Navajos welcomed freedom from the United States Army. Raiding quickly returned. Whites and Indians once again stole each other's women and children, and their cattle, sheep, and horses for revenge and profit. Poor whites and poor Indians alike hoped to build fortunes on slaves and stolen livestock.

Whites wanted Navajoland. They hoped to profit from mining and grazing. Arizona Territory became a major mining region. The livestock industry was growing in New Mexico. As the Americans entered old Navajoland, tension grew. The New Mexican settlers, who often suffered more than the Navajos, lost their patience after a few years of raiding. Soon the New Mexicans demanded war with the Navajos.

The raiding in New Mexico also interfered with the government's plans during the Civil War. Navajo raids threatened Union shipments of gold from California and plans for a railroad through the Southwest. The North defeated the South at the battle of Glorieta Pass in New Mexico in March 1862. After the Rebel threat in the Southwest was put down, General Canby began planning to remove all of the Navajos to a reservation away from the American settlers.

Soon the United States government sent Canby east. That left the Navajo problem to Brigadier General James Carleton. The general had seen reservations in California, and he liked Canby's plan. Critics would later accuse Carleton of selfish motives, but his goals were probably sincere. Moving the Navajos to a reserve would, he thought, protect them from the New Mexicans. It would "civilize" the Indians by teaching them Christianity. If at the same time it would also solve the problem of raids, open the country for mining and grazing, and clear the way for a railroad, that was so much the better. And Carleton might also make a number of his friends very rich.

At any rate, the country was more than tired of the Navajos. It was war time. The settlers did not want peace with the Confederates *or* the Navajos. They thought the Indians were out of control. Most treaties had come to nothing. The only solution, it seemed to them, was war.

General Carleton picked Bosque Redondo, or "Round Grove," for the reservation. There, in a grove of cottonwood trees on the Pecos River in eastern New Mexico, would be the site of Fort Sumner. The Indian reservation would stretch north and south through the valley. Carleton had surveyed the area in the 1850s. It was distant from white towns. An army post there, Carleton hoped, would block Comanche and Kiowa raids into New Mexico. A military board checked the site. They noted that it had certain advantages. There seemed to be plenty of water, wood, and grazing land. But they liked a location at the junction of the Agua Negra and Pecos rivers better. The Bosque site was far from supply centers, they warned. Building supplies and grass for the animals could quickly be used up. The water there was bad, and the valley might flood. But Carleton, always sure of himself, insisted on the Bosque Redondo location.

Carson's Campaign

General Carleton chose Kit Carson to round up the Navajos. Carson had much to recommend him. He knew Indians well, having served as agent for the Jicarilla Apaches, Utes, and Northern Pueblos. He had guided army campaigns in the Southwest. Besides, he was nearby, at Taos. Best of all, he was an army officer. He led the First New Mexico Volunteers, a group which had fought in the Civil War. Volunteers would have to do, for there were no regular troops in New Mexico. They had all been sent east to fight in the Civil War.

Four companies of volunteers went into Navajoland to build Fort Wingate at the head of the Gallo River. General Carleton decided to begin the campaign by rounding up the Mescalero Apaches, a much smaller group than the Navajos. Within five months, the Apaches had either given up or fled. By mid-March 1863, the troops had taken 450 Apaches to Bosque Redondo.

While Carson's troops fought Apaches, other troops were building Fort Wingate east of the Zuni Mountains. Watching and fearing the worst, nearby Navajos sent men to Santa Fe to talk with Carleton. These men were from Delgadito's group of "Enemy

Navajos." They had already split off from the rest of the tribe to lead a peaceful life near Cubero. But the general would not change his mind. All Navajos must go to Bosque Redondo.

After defeating the Mescaleros, Carson and Carleton prepared for war against the Navajos. Carson bought supplies and hired guides. The Utes, who trusted Carson, wanted to help fight their old foes. If Carson had had his way, Navajo captives would have been given to the Utes as slaves. But Carleton would not permit slavery. Every prisoner must be sent to Bosque Redondo. If the Utes wanted Navajo slaves, they would have to steal them.

Carleton sent word to Delgadito and Barboncito, another important leader, that the Navajos must surrender by July 20. If not, there would be war. On July 7, Carson left for his post at Fort Canby, near the site of Old Fort Defiance. At most, he would command 736 men. There were 326 more at Fort Wingate.

The first scouting patrol left Fort Canby on August 5, 1863. The soldiers made a round trip of almost five hundred miles, heading south to Zuni and then west to Hopi and returning past Canyon de Chelly. The soldiers suffered much in the August desert heat, but this was not the worst weather they would endure. Though they saw few Navajos, and killed or captured even fewer, Carson's soldiers hurt the People in other ways. His troops set fire to Navajo fields, drove off or took their stock, and chopped down their fruit trees. Soldiers guarded the water holes, and Carleton set a bounty of one dollar a head for each Navajo horse and mule. Soldiers also guarded the mountain passes of eastern Navajoland. They hoped to ambush and capture Navajos coming home from raids against settlers on the Rio Grande. Carleton thought that, when winter came, the Navajos would be starved into giving up. This plan, he hoped, would have more success than fighting many battles.

But, after a second patrol failed, Carson took another look at his plan. No other full-scale patrols left the fort that fall, though small units did scout near Fort Canby. They too failed to find many Navajos. Carson and Carleton were worried. The cavalry and pack stock already showed effects of poor grazing and scarce water. Navajo raids, aimed at army stock and supply trains, had often been successful. At this point, some Navajos may have gained more than they lost from the army's presence.

Colonel Carson planned one last campaign before winter. A force left Fort Canby in the middle of November for a three-week march into the region west of the Hopi villages. The army horses

were in such bad shape that the men had to walk through the snow. As a result, this campaign also failed.

But soon winter patrols began to see results of the earlier campaigns. Reports told of Navajos dying from hunger. Their food supply had been burned, and their flocks of sheep had been scattered. The Navajos suffered a great deal. The army began to think that the Navajo war would soon end.

The Raid on Canyon de Chelly

Carson returned to Fort Canby in December. He planned to rest his troops there until spring while he spent the holidays with his family in Taos. Carleton, however, had other plans. The general would not let the tired officer go home until he had taken a hundred captives. He told Carson to go to Canyon de Chelly, even though Carson thought he would find few Navajos there.

In spite of many problems, two lines of troops left for Canyon de Chelly on January 6, 1864. One group entered the east end of Canyon del Muerto. Carson took the other group of four hundred men west to the mouth of Canyon de Chelly. On January 11, Carson set up his base camp at Chinle.

The next day, while Carson's men scouted Canyon de Chelly, the other troops began their march through Canyon del Muerto. When Carson reached the east end of the gorge without meeting the other group, he began to worry. Only after he returned and found the other group back at Chinle did he understand the forked structure of the canyon.

Carson was surprised at the number of Navajos who made the gorge their home. General Carleton had been correct. Canyon de Chelly hid large bands of Navajos, some of whom had hurled rocks and curses at the army. But the soldiers had been able to capture only six of them.

That evening a small group of Navajos came to the camp under a flag of truce. They wanted to know what would happen to them if they surrendered. They feared they might all be killed. The Canyon de Chelly Navajos admitted they were having trouble living through the winter. When they learned that they would not be killed, but only sent to a reservation, they agreed to surrender. Carson let them return for their families, but he warned them that they must come back by ten o'clock the next morning. If they did not, he would send his soldiers after them.

The Navajos could have avoided the American troops. But little was left of the corn, squash, melons, and peaches picked that fall from the canyon gardens. The People knew that the soldiers would surely destroy all that was left. Winter life in Navajoland would be hard without food or shelter.

Carson told the Navajos that they and their clansmen must be at Fort Canby within ten days. Returning to the fort, he left seventy-five soldiers to burn every hogan and cut down every peach tree that could be found. In less than two weeks, Carson's soldiers had been successful in the largest campaign of the Navajo war. Nearly two hundred Navajos would turn themselves in at Fort Canby. Carson left for home on January 26. He would not return until March 19.

Carson had taken some pains to treat his prisoners well, and the word began to spread. Surrender only meant a trip to new land in eastern New Mexico, where they would be fed and clothed. The army had even agreed to let the Navajos keep their stock. Moving seemed better than freezing or starving, and Navajos came in by the hundreds.

The Long Walk

The Cebolletans were the first to accept General Carleton's demands. Fifty-one of these so-called Enemy Navajos gave up in September 1863. Delgadito and 187 others turned themselves in during November. As the winter without food caused more and more suffering, fewer and fewer Navajos were able to resist. Delgadito went to Navajo land to calm their fears. By the end of January, 680 more were ready to go with him to Bosque Redondo.

By early February 1864, there were 1,200 Navajos waiting at Fort Wingate. One thousand more waited at Fort Canby. By the end of the month, the number of Navajos at Fort Canby had swelled to 2,500. Soldiers spent more and more of their time caring for the prisoners. They had little left for scouting. As the growing number of Navajos at the posts strained the army's resources, the patrols were stopped.

Those few lucky Navajos who had been able to support themselves through the hard winter now had little to worry about from the army. But by then most of the People faced starvation. Even some of the *ricos* began to give up. Some who had been holding out west of the Hopis came to Fort Canby in May 1864. Kit Carson left

Fort Canby in the late spring. Except for a few small patrols, the war was over. Through the summer, though, about three thousand more Navajos gave themselves up.

Meanwhile, in late January 1864, more than 1,400 Navajos had reached Bosque Redondo. On the journey, 10 died of the cold, 3 were stolen, and 2, the army said, had strayed away. In March another group of more than 2,100 Navajos left Fort Canby. Of this group, the largest to make the journey, about 200 members would die during the march. Some would fall victim to the frigid cold. Others would suffer from dysentery, a disease made worse by the improper use of a strange food they had been given for the march — flour.

Later, on March 20, Captain Francis McCabe marched out of Fort Canby with more than 800 prisoners. Only the sick were left behind. This group went through 52 days of the worst hardships the Long Walk could offer. Two days after they left Canby, a winter storm hit the group. It lasted for four days, and many of the Navajos had little protection from the harsh weather. Rations ran out before they reached Fort Wingate. On the journey, 110 Navajos died. Yet the army reported no complaints from the captives.

The exodus went on through 1864. When the last group reached the Bosque on November 26, a total of 8,354 Navajos had made the Long Walk. Many of them had walked the 300 miles from Fort Canby or Fort Wingate during the worst weeks of a harsh winter. Others, who were sick or feeble, had died on the way. Some of those who could not or would not maintain the pace had been shot. Still others had lost their children to slavers who followed the trail. The Long Walk would be a bitter memory for the Navajo nation.

Life at Bosque Redondo

The main problem at Bosque Redondo, or Hwéél̀di, was lack of supplies. From the beginning, the Navajos came to Hwéél̀di faster than the army could get food for them. In spite of frequent warnings from Carson, General Carleton had not realized the great size of the tribe. He was not ready for so many captives. At times the conditions were so serious that troops throughout New Mexico had to suffer ration cuts so that the Navajos could survive.

And the Bureau of Indian Affairs had refused to feed the Navajos, saying that they were prisoners of war and the army

should support them. The chief agent in New Mexico, Dr. Michael Steck, opposed moving the Navajos to Bosque Redondo. Though he agreed they should be placed on a reservation, he felt that Bosque Redondo was too small to support both the Navajos and the Mescalero Apaches. The Apaches had done very well at the reserve. Their agent, Lorenzo Labadie, hoped that they would be able to support themselves. He was less sure that these old enemies could live together.

As army officials searched the country for supplies, soldiers began to construct the reservation buildings. By the end of 1863, the fort was nearly complete. Since the small section of Apache farmland would not support the Navajos as well, a new irrigation system was begun. Working with few tools, soldiers dug a large canal and a network of connecting ditches. Officials laid out the land in ten- to twenty-five-acre lots. Three thousand acres were cleared and planted. But this was still not enough watered land to support eight thousand Indians.

Both the Indians and the army were excited by the thriving crops in summer 1864. But just as the crops began to ripen, an insect pest called the army worm killed nearly all of the corn. To make the matter worse, heavy rains destroyed about half of the wheat. Frost and hail wiped out other nearby food supplies. And then Kiowas and Comanches raided the supply trains sent to the Bosque. Soon the army lacked the means to feed the Indians. While officials cut rations and searched for a source of supply, many hungry Indians began to desert the reserve. Raids increased. New Mexicans began to denounce Carleton's plan. The reservation looked more and more like a failure.

Crowded conditions at Bosque Redondo forced the army to give up its plans to capture the remaining Navajos. The troops had destroyed the Navajos' means of support. After starving the People into surrender, the army found itself unable to feed them. But if the Navajos searched the country for stock to survive, they would be condemned for theft.

Meanwhile, the argument between the army and the Bureau of Indian Affairs had become an open feud between General Carleton and the Indian agents. Superintendent Steck toured the Bosque in October 1864. In November, after visiting Agent Lorenzo Labadie, he went to Washington, D.C., for talks with higher officials. Bosque Redondo, he said, was a good place for an Indian reservation, but there was not enough land for both the Apaches and the Navajos. The reserve could not have supported

them even if none of the crops had been ruined by insects. If the war continued, Steck pointed out again and again, the number of Navajos at the Bosque could double. Yet the army could not even feed the number already there. Children were dying from lack of food. When Carleton asked for more funds to support the Bosque, Steck argued that the money would only delay the eventual need to move the Navajos. He thought that they should be moved to a reserve on the Little Colorado River. He even suggested that Carleton was using his plans to benefit friendly local merchants. An enormous sum had been spent on supplies. Steck estimated that the cost to run the Bosque was five times higher than Carleton had stated.

Because of Steck's vocal protests, Carleton's support began to weaken. Local public opinion turned against the general. The Santa Fe *New Mexican* said that it would cost over two million dollars a year to feed the entire tribe. Though Congress granted a hundred thousand dollars to cope with the crisis in July, the supplies were late in reaching the Bosque. Rumors of errors and fraud began to spread. New Mexican ranchers were angry because Pecos grazing land had been taken. Soon some called for a vote to decide the matter. And the New Mexico elections of late 1864 put Carleton's critics in office.

Further Problems

Other problems also caused tension at the reserve. A small supply of old army tents was soon used up, and there were not enough homes for the Indians. The army wanted a pueblo-style village of orderly adobe buildings. But the Navajos opposed the plan. If a man dies in a hogan, his spirit may return to the scene of death. The People destroyed any hogan in which a death had taken place and built a new one. No one could force them to live in a death-cursed house. At last they agreed to compromise by building hogans in neat rows. When someone died, the hogan could be destroyed, and the family could build a new home at the end of the row.

The lack of wood caused greater problems. As time went on, the Navajos had to travel farther to find wood. A man often had to walk miles to find a mesquite root and then spend most of the day cutting, sawing, and dragging home his load. At the same time, many of the prisoners and soldiers were sick. The far-ranging Navajos had never lived in such a small area. Germs quickly passed

through the entire group. The prisoners had no natural defense against the whiteman's diseases to which they were being exposed for the first time. Impure drinking water caused more health problems. There were few who did not have some serious illness.

The anger between Navajos and Apaches also increased because of these frustrating problems. At harvest time, when hungry farmers eagerly watched and guarded their crops, fights often broke out between the tribes. Men battled with farm tools, if nothing else was near. In the end, the Apaches were moved south of Fort Sumner, so that the army would be between the two tribes.

By the end of 1864, General Carleton had to defend his policies in an open letter to the people of New Mexico. He answered protests about the raids made by Navajo runaways and the high price of food. He also dealt with charges that he had improperly handled the business of supplying the Bosque. His response convinced the New Mexico legislature to support him. But conditions at the Bosque quickly went from bad to worse.

The shipment of supplies which had been bought with the hundred thousand dollars granted in July 1864 did not arrive until January 1, 1865. And then it was obvious that someone had cheated the Indians. Many of the goods shipped were of no use at all. Some, such as leather and blacksmith tools, might have been of some use to a few of the People. But nails and scraps of iron were completely useless. Many of the items had been bought at extremely high prices. Officers stated that the entire shipment was worth only about thirty thousand dollars, less than a third of what had been paid for it.

General Carleton blamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs for much of the trouble, and, for a time, his views gained support. In May a bitter Superintendent Steck quit. Carleton had long objected to Lorenzo Labadie, the Apache agent, because Labadie had always championed the Apaches' rights, often at the expense of Carleton's plans for the Navajos. So the general used the troubles as evidence against Labadie. He accused the agent of improper and illegal activities, such as the private use and sale of government property. Then he expelled Labadie from the reserve, took former Apache farms, and gave them to the Navajos. Labadie moved his agency just off the reserve, but the Mescalero Apaches did more than sneak across the border to see their agent. On November 3, nearly all of the Apaches left the Bosque for good.

In early 1865, the situation seemed hopeful. More land had been cleared and planted. The crops looked good. Farmers hoped to raise nine million pounds of grain. The harvest promised to feed the entire group of Navajos through the following year. The ability and endurance of the Navajo farmers seemed about to pay off. Besides insects, they had dealt with the bad Pecos water and floods that had washed away the dams. But then, during the summer, farmers saw the eggs of the army worm. The People began to lose hope. And less than a half-million pounds of grain survived. By this time, there was no wood anywhere near the reserve. Kiowas or Comanches attacked almost weekly. Disease still struck both soldiers and Navajos. Desertion and raiding increased.

As more and more Navajos fled, Carleton placed a double circle of guards around the Bosque. The army sent soldiers to watch the mountain passes. Guards had orders to shoot any Indian found off the reserve without a pass. Any Navajo who could travel, however, was willing to take his chances against the guards. The number of people at Bosque Redondo dropped sharply.

The Return to Navajoland

In the summer of 1865, the government began to study the Navajos, as well as other Indians throughout the West. The Indians were angry, and many conflicts had led to fighting. A congressional committee came to New Mexico in June. At hearings in Santa Fe, the senators took note of Navajo problems. To them, Carleton's experiment seemed certain to fail. A second government study was more complete and less critical. It concluded that the Bosque was doing well enough, but final government control must be decided. But when councils with Navajo headmen were held, one thing was very clear: the People wanted to go home.

At the Bosque, Navajo leaders held a ceremony called "Put Bead in Coyote's Mouth." The People formed a large circle on the plain and then slowly closed in, making a human fence in which a coyote was trapped. They carefully placed a whiteshell bead in the coyote's mouth. Then they released the animal. As it walked off toward the west and the Navajo homeland, the People knew that they would soon be set free. Blessed with the power of Coyote, Navajo leaders had a new certainty when they spoke with whites. After the ceremony, the People knew that their return to their homes was only a matter of time.

By 1866 the people of New Mexico wanted both the Navajos and Carleton to go. The legislature asked President Andrew Johnson to replace General Carleton. In 1866 half of the crops at Bosque Redondo failed. Desertion and raiding were as serious as ever. Carleton lost his office on September 19, 1866. On December 31, the government gave power over the Navajos to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The next year was one of study and delay. Meetings were held with the Navajo headmen. Most officials began to think that the best answer would be a reservation in northeastern Arizona. In the late spring of 1868, a Peace Commission headed by General William T. Sherman visited the Navajos. If they were peaceful, they would be given a reserve in their homeland. But if they were hostile, it had been decided, they would be sent to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. On May 28, Navajos spoke at the first of many councils. The headmen impressed the Americans with their eloquence. Foremost was Barboncito, who spoke in the best manner of a true Navajo orator. General Sherman saw no hostility. All that any of the Navajos wanted to do was to go home. Convinced they were sincere and peaceful, the government drew up a treaty. The Navajos would be sent home. On June 1, 1868, Navajo leaders signed the agreement (see Appendix, p. 177).

By signing the treaty, the Navajos agreed to keep peace with their neighbors and not to oppose the building of a railroad. They were to send their children between the ages of six and sixteen to schools. The United States promised to provide a schoolhouse and a teacher for every thirty Navajo children. The Americans gave the Navajos tools and seed, small cash payments, and stock. They also promised to protect the Navajos from their white and Indian enemies. And they returned a portion of Navajoland to the People.

In mid-June, a ten-mile caravan rolled away from Fort Sumner. The summer walk was very different from the winter marches four and a half years before. By the time joyful Navajos reached Fort Defiance, Bosque Redondo was a desert again. Through all the terrible hardships of the three-hundred-mile Long Walk and the hard life at Hwéeldi, the People had survived.

When the People returned from the Long Walk, they took up their lives once again in their home. The experience had done little to change their way of life. Though they had proved to be good farmers at the Bosque, once home, few continued to be

strictly farmers. Though some of them had learned to work silver, this meant little for the time being. Carleton had not made Christians of the People as he had hoped to. The Navajo way of life — the People's religion, traditions, and point of view — had not changed much. In years to come, there would be new efforts to change the People's ways. The government would use the treaty to force Navajo children into classrooms where they would be taught to live the whiteman's way. But the Diné would resist this threat, as they had fought to return to their homes. And they would do so with a new sense of unity gained from their experience at Hwééldi. After the Long Walk, all Navajos shared the memory of that difficult time. But they also shared the joy of returning home and a deep belief that they would keep what was theirs.

The Utah Navajos during the Long Walk

As Carson pointed out, Bosque Redondo never held more than half of the Navajo tribe. The story of the Bosque, then, is only the history of half of the People. When Carson's troops invaded Navajoland in late 1862, most Navajos scattered and hid. They appeared only once in a while to make small, quick raids on the soldiers' stock and supplies. Those who retreated without enough food were soon forced to surrender, but the families who had time to prepare survived in remote canyons. There they settled into a hard, quiet life of resistance, living off their sheep until the next year's crop could be gathered.

Some of the refugees settled west of the Hopis and north of the San Juan River. Atsidii K'aa'k'ehii led a group that found shelter between Tuba City and Black Butte. Others formed a camp near Lee's Ferry. The followers of Kée Diníihi (Painted Foot), Hastiin Lók'aa (Reed Man), Kéyahii (Garden), and Dághaa Dah Sikaad (Bunchy Moustache) settled around Navajo Mountain. Many, like Dághaa Dah Sikaad, Késhgodii (Shortened Foot), Dághaa'i Lani (Many Whiskers), and Bik'aa'i Sání (Old Arrow) roamed into the Kaibito and Navajo Canyon area.

The largest groups escaped into Utah. Groups led by Manuelito, Haashkéneinii, and K'aa'yélii fled to the San Juan River area. For a time, Manuelito was the symbol of freedom and resistance. Carleton wanted to capture him more than any other Navajo. While Carson was destroying the People's food, Manuelito began hiding supplies to carry his family through the

In 1874 a Navajo delegation went to Washington, D.C. Manuelito's wife Juanita, who accompanied her husband on the trip, posed for this portrait in a studio there. Photograph courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

winter. Surviving on sheep, hidden food, and wild plants, his people avoided the white soldiers.

For Manuelito's group, the Utes became a greater threat than the soldiers. Early in 1865, Utes raided Manuelito's camp west of Zuni and stole much of the stock on which the People largely depended. Then Manuelito led his people west to the region of Black Mesa. But Utes seemed to follow him everywhere. Again that fall they raided his camp, while he was away on a hunting trip.

This time they killed and captured many of his people. With few strong men left, Manuelito was forced to surrender to the United States Army on September 1, 1866.

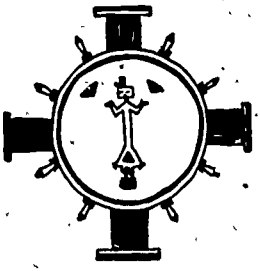
Farther north, other bands roamed through Monument Valley and between the San Juan and Colorado rivers. K'aa'yélii's group lived near Bear's Ears, and Haashkéneinii led the Navajos in Monument Valley. At first these groups faced worse conditions than Manuelito's. In the end, though, they resisted more successfully. They never did surrender.

Haashkéneinii, K'aa'yélii's clan relative, was the most impressive leader of free Navajos through the Long Walk period. When he learned in 1863 that soldiers and Utes were nearing Monument Valley, he got his people ready to leave. Taking only a few things that lay near at hand, Haashkéneinii and his family moved north toward the river. They walked through Ute territory, moving at night and hiding during the day. They then turned west and made for Navajo Mountain, where they set up camp in the rugged region of the lower San Juan.

Haashkéneinii demanded hard work from the little group of exiles. His strictness earned for him the name "Giving-Out-Anger." Although they reached Navajo Mountain with only twenty sheep and one old musket, with care the flock grew quickly. The Navajos lived well in the land between Navajo Mountain and Bear's Ears. They came back to Monument Valley in 1868.

Many people, like Haashkéneinii, were thankful at having missed the hardships of the Long Walk and Hwééldi. Yet they shared the anger of the captive Navajos at being blamed for an unjust war they did not start. Like other Navajos, they would insist on keeping what was theirs. They would fight to keep their children out of the whiteman's schools and their land out of the whiteman's hands.

X. DINÉ BIKÉYAH: NAVAJO COUNTRY REBORN



After Hwéeldi

The sight of their homeland thrilled the Navajos. Lucky families found kinsmen waiting for them. The People who had hidden from Carson's troops had prepared stores of food for the day when their friends would return. Now the reunion was a time of joy. Meals tasted good again, as traditional Navajo foods replaced American flour and beans. Medicine men held hundreds of Enemy Way ceremonies to cleanse those who came back. As the People built their new hogans between the four sacred mountains, their world began to show its balanced harmony again.

Most of the Navajos needed the help which the treaty had promised, though. The greatest need was for food and blankets. But to rebuild, they would also have to have the seed and sheep. Many would remain near the forts until the government gave them their sheep. A new Fort Wingate was built at Bear Springs.

Theodore Dodd took charge of the new agency at Fort Defiance. He oversaw the Navajos' return, but he stayed among the People less than half a year. By 1900 almost twenty agents would have come to the Fort Defiance office, stayed for a short time, and left. The agency was so far away from most of the People that the agent could never hope to see more than a few of the many Navajos. For years agents made plans and asked to move to the San Juan River, nearer the larger groups of Navajos. But the move never came. Agent after agent came to the reservation, worked against the obstacles, and quit in frustration. Most barely had time to get their bearings. Thus the People seldom had an able and knowing connection with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

One problem, however, was clear and persistent enough to be noticed by all of the agents. Most of the Navajos were starving. The annuities promised by the treaty had been designed to support them until they could support themselves, but the funds came uncertainly at best. As the years passed, the concept of Navajo self-support looked more and more like a dream.

To survive the hard years after Hwéeldi, the Navajos needed the rations promised by the treaty. Many, like those shown in this 1879 photograph, came to Fort Defiance on ration day. A John K. Hillers photograph, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

Dodd set up his office at Fort Wingate while the old Fort Defiance buildings were rebuilt. His first problem was clear. He had to find food to support the Navajos. The winter of 1868–1869 was a hard one, and the Navajos camped around the fort were surviving on few rations. The agent spent the ration money almost before he had it. Soon it looked as if the money would run out. Dodd's health failed before his funds, and the agent died as the new year began.

Captain Bennett took over as agent in January 1869. "Big Belly" faced the same problems as Dodd had. Some Navajos, faced with hunger, made raids once in a while. And a few, who had never gone to the Bosque or agreed to any terms, felt that the treaty did not bind them. But the Navajos could no longer survive by raiding. In addition, the boundaries of the new reserve left out much of the best range-land, so the Navajos were forced to spread beyond its borders. Settlers had made homesteads in the region while the Navajos were away at Fort Sumner Those settlers held

many of the People's ancestral water sources. The competition for desert resources was intense. The barren land could not support the People.

Farming, it soon became clear, could never completely support the People. Navajos planted farms with seeds given to them by the government. But each year farmers and agents alike were disappointed. Late or early snows or frosts, hailstorms, insects, droughts, or floods destroyed crop after crop. Navajos simply could not depend solely on farming.

So, for the time being, the government took care of the needy at Fort Defiance. Once a week, the Navajos were counted and given tickets. Then they received a daily ration of one pound of beef and one pound of wheat or corn. But only those close to Fort Defiance were able to use the supplies. As much as the Navajos needed aid, however, Congress never granted the full funds that the treaty required. Half-rations were often issued to stretch the failing supplies, and the army sometimes had to take on the full burden of support. Although the ten-year period of support ended in 1878, by 1882 the government still had not spent $156,651 of the funds set aside by the treaty for the Navajos.

The government did spend the thirty thousand dollars that the treaty had set aside for the purchase of stock. More than anything else, sheep saved the Navajos from poverty. The People were very thankful when the herds reached them in the autumn of 1869. More than eight thousand Navajos turned out to receive the stock at Fort Defiance. They would care for and protect the small flocks until the herds were larger than ever, and well-being would return to the Navajos.

The herds grew quickly. By 1880 a few Navajo *ricos* were as wealthy as before Fort Sumner. The tribe as a whole owned about one million sheep and goats. But this rapid growth had not been easy. One severe winter could destroy the progress of years, and grass was sparse on the Arizona and New Mexico mesas. A sheepherder needed a great deal of land for even a small flock.

As the herds grew, the Navajos needed more and more grazing land, and conflicts soon arose. Some Navajos lived on lands that the treaty had granted to the railroad. Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah ranchers who surrounded the reserve wanted control of water and range rights. Angry whites criticized the agents. Some agents tried to solve the problem by confining the Navajos to the reservation. Other agents saw that if the Navajos were ever going

to become self-sufficient, they must be given room to grow. By about 1900, Mormons, Utes, and Paiutes pressed the Navajos on the north. The railroad, Apaches, and American ranchers closed in on the south border. Anglo-and Mexican-Americans moved in on the east. Tension rose in these borderlands.

More Land for the People

One answer to the land problem lay in homesteading the federal land held for public use. Most good agents insisted that the Navajos had a right to use this public land. At the same time, the agents advised the Navajos living in the border areas to stay within the borders.

Another solution was enlarging the reserve. Through the late 1800s, the reservation gained a great deal of land indeed. In 1878 President Ulysses S. Grant signed an executive order adding almost 1,000,000 acres on the west. Two years later, President Rutherford B. Hayes gave the Navajos title to more than 1,000,000 acres on the south and east. Two grants of almost 2,500,000 acres each were made in 1882 and 1884, pushing the Navajo boundaries west and south around the Hopis and north to the San Juan River. Much of the Utah Navajo land was restored to public domain in 1892 but given back to the tribe in 1933. In January 1900, the reservation gained a section west of the Hopis. By 1900, then, the tribe had most of its present-day lands north of Window Rock.

At first, the land grants sounded generous. Almost seven million acres had been added to the treaty lands. In almost every case, though, Navajos had lived on the land long before it became part of the reserve. They gained little more than safety when it was made an official part of the reservation. What is more, the changes often led to bad feelings between the Navajos and their neighbors. Angry because this land was lost to public use, white ranchers fought all the harder when Indians tried to acquire homesteads.

The agents' programs to encourage Navajo homesteading met with very little success. The rules for claiming a homestead confused the People. Most Navajos did not see why they should apply for land that had belonged to the tribe for ages. And a hogan and brush corral were not legal improvements on the land, as the whiteman's buildings were. Navajos sometimes came home from a summer camp to find their lands claimed by whites. In

According to homestead laws, a Navajo hogan and brush shelter like these were not legal improvements on the land. Photograph courtesy of Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

many cases, the whitemen had gained the land by using the homestead laws that should have protected the Navajos' prior claim.

It is not surprising, then, that tensions flared into violence. Many white ranchers who had enjoyed the use of Navajo land had never gotten over their anger at the Navajos' return from Bosque Redondo. These ranchers often complained about Navajo raids. But at least one agent felt that either the ranchers were lying or the Navajos had acted in self-defense. "I am confident," said Agent Bennett, that "nothing short of starvation would induce them [the Navajos] to commence hostilities of any kind. I also believe that most of the people of this Territory are waiting anxiously for, and would take advantage of, any opportunity to get the Navajos into trouble."

There were many such opportunities. Most regions of Navajoland rarely went a year between shootouts. Border conflicts sometimes seemed in danger of turning into full-fledged battles. For a time, it looked as if the old way of mutual raiding would take hold again. Only the use of troops and careful handling by army officers prevented serious battles.

Still, the Navajos needed land to expand. If new land could not be acquired, then the land they had had to be improved so that it would produce more. Agents tended to support land improvement plans. If the government and the tribe could build a large system of irrigation, they thought, more sheep could live on smaller sections of land. In that way, the Navajos could avoid conflicts with their white neighbors.

So, in 1886, a special agent came to the reservation to see if such a system would be possible. The agent felt that with $50,000 the Navajos could develop a water supply that would support all of the People within the reserve. The commissioner of Indian affairs agreed. But, even with his support, only $7,500 was given to the project. Though small, the grant paid for the building of 15 springs, 5 dams, 14 reservoirs, and 9 ditches during the first year. The project was never fully funded, though, and problems with running the agency also took time away from it. Many of the dams washed out in the year after they were built. The matter was not given serious thought again until the late 1890s.

Meanwhile, in 1881, a new force came into the uncertain, expanding world of the Navajos. The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad laid its tracks across New Mexico. Sadly, its greatest impact on the People was the whiskey it brought. Almost before the railroad entered Navajoland, this disease struck parts of the reservation. Many depressed young Indian men drank heavily, and tribal leaders soon joined with the agent in condemning what seemed to be a poison.

Traders and Navajo Art

If the railroad brought liquor and conflict, it also did more than anything else to improve the Navajos' incomes. It gave traders much better access to the area. New traders set up shop, and old-timers expanded their posts. In most cases, the trader had a great influence on the Indians in his area. While the tribe's one agent saw little of the reservation, the many traders had close relations with their customers. They earned a trust the agent could never share.

Without pay, the trader took on such duties as burying the dead, speaking for the Navajos in court and before the agent, and hiring Navajo workers for the railroad. Often the trader also learned to speak Navajo. Along with reading and writing letters, he taught his customers how best to use new tools. He welcomed

the Navajos to his store, letting travelers camp there. Most important, he explained the government's plans for the Navajos. Without the trader, the government would have had even more difficulty in explaining and carrying out its plans.

In return, of course, the Navajos gave the trader their business. They needed more things all the time, as their tastes for the outside world's material goods grew. Coffee, flour, and sugar were always in demand. The People had loved peaches since the old Canyon de Chelly days, and now the trader stocked them in cans. After a while, canned milk also became something of a staple. Hard goods like tools were special prizes. A pocket knife was a luxury. Some Navajos even bought axes and saws. As the Navajos cut and formed logs for building, and as old railroad ties came into use, hogan styles began to change. The many-sided hogan became common.

The period saw changes in other styles, too. Cotton cloth and blankets sold well. The Navajos learned a new way of dressing. Yards of calico and muslin went home with Navajo women. The traders carried popular blankets that used traditional Navajo patterns but were made by an Oregon mill. Velveteen completed the trader's stock of fabrics. Sewing machines could also be bought. Navajos went to the trader for hardware like saddles, bridles, and harnesses. Kerosene lamps became common. Many farmers bought plows, and a fortunate few could even purchase wagons.

Although the trader provided the Navajos with many goods and services, he was not there just to be generous. He profited well from the trade. As the Navajos' tastes for outside goods increased, so did the wealth of the traders, who had no competition for their local markets. When the Navajos could not afford the cash price, the traders gave credit or took jewelry or blankets as pawn. In this way, traders gained more control over each person's trade.

While traders sold American goods to the Navajos, they also worked to develop an outside market for the things the People had to sell. The value of Navajo crafts rose quickly. Traders bought them from the craftsmen and then resold them, keeping the bulk of the profit for themselves, of course. Meanwhile, the money the craftsmen earned also ended up in the traders' hands, as it was spent at the trading posts for more American goods. Textiles were the chief items in the trade. Wool had always been a welcome product. Now, the Navajos found, the products of their looms could also bring a good price.

As traders moved onto the reservation, weaving became an important source of income for the Navajos. A Pennington photograph, courtesy of the Library of the State Historical Society of Colorado.

Rather suddenly, Navajo weavers became artists whose works were in demand. Wise traders acted almost as modern managers, taking care of all the business. First, they brought in dyed yarn, so that the weavers would not have to spend the largest part of their time saving scraps of wool and hand-dyeing their work. When the traders began selling cotton string to use for the warp, nothing was left to distract the weaver. Her time was valuable.

The first results could have been expected. Working as quickly as possible to make as much money as they could, weavers turned out thousands of rugs, but their quality quickly declined. Time and quantity, not quality, were the driving forces. In this way, the Navajo weavers earned a steady income. Brightly colored Germantown yarns and aniline dyes made their way to Navajoland at about this time. New colors and designs were added. To increase the profits to be earned from the weaving trade, traders like Lorenzo Hubbell and J. B. Moore began programs to control the designs and sell the rugs. First the trader would organize a group of willing weavers. Then he made a catalogue of designs. A customer anywhere in the country could then send an order for a certain rug. The trader would select a weaver and supply her with the materials. The white customer would soon have a "Navajo" rug of specific design.

But this era of gaudy design and standard form did not destroy the tradition of fine Navajo weaving. More recent styles owe much to the efforts of the Hyde Exploring Foundation and of Fred Harvey, who, toward the end of the century, began to urge the weaving of blankets in the old style, with quiet dyes and pleasant Navajo designs.

Navajo jewelers had no such outside influences to direct the growth of their art. From Mexican teachers they had learned the skill and taken a few designs, but Navajo silver was Navajo silver. On the other hand, the men sold little of their silver and turquoise. They made the jewelry for themselves and their families, not for the trader or his white clients. A jeweler could not yet depend on his silver as a source of income, as his wife could on her weaving. That would come later.

Education

When, in keeping with national goals, civilian agents replaced career army officers in 1870, a new force came into the Navajo world. The Board of Indian Commissioners opened the Navajo

reservation to the Presbyterian Board of Missions. For thirty years, this group would nominate agents for the reservation and largely control the education of the tribe.

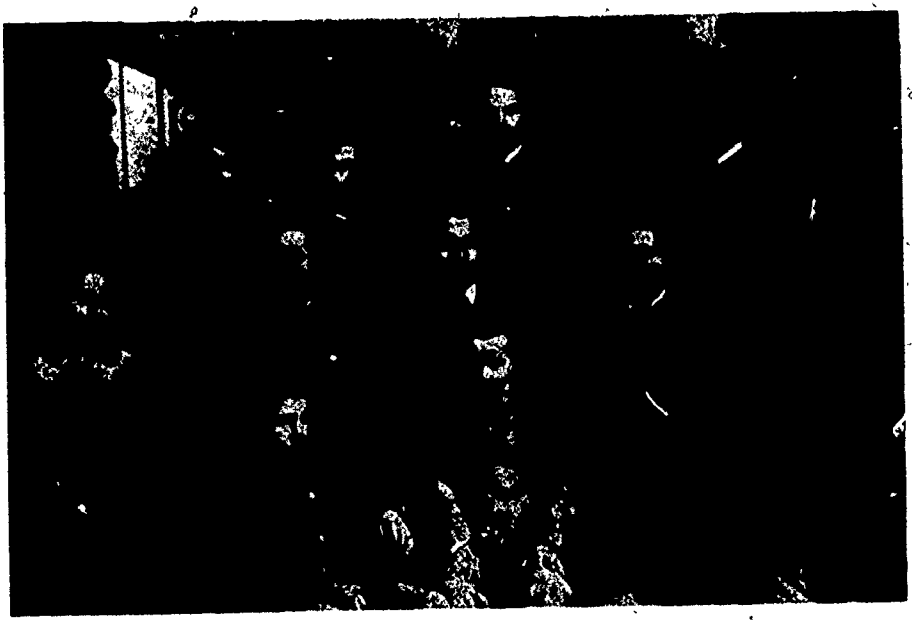
Judging by the rapid turnover of agents, the Presbyterians did not choose the right men for the post. And they were hardly more successful at teaching the Navajos. The Home Mission Board sent Miss Charity Gaston, the Navajos' first teacher, to a ramshackle dayschool at Fort Defiance. But she seldom had more than a few pupils. The People could see little reason to take their children away from chores and pastimes where they had a chance to learn something useful. Fears about this unknown book learning may also have hurt attendance. And, from the first, the People saw that the real goal of this education was to teach the Navajos to be whitemen and not Indians. So parents sent only sick or weak children to the Fort Defiance school. At first no one tried to enforce the treaty provision that all Navajo children attend school.

It was not until 1880 that a real school was placed on the reservation. Then the Presbyterian Home Mission Board sent J. D. Perkins to Fort Defiance to direct the building of a boarding school that would house 150 to 200 students. But when the school was built, few Navajo children attended it. Boarding-school life did not appeal to Navajo youths. In 1885 only 33 students went, and the agent had to station a policeman at the door to prevent them from running away.

The police were a chilling hint of things to come. In 1887 Congress passed the Indian Education Law to force Indians to go to school. Along with the bill came funds for new schools. A new boarding school went up in 1892 at Fort Lewis, Colorado. A special agent made the rounds, trying to convince parents to send their children. The area's tribes acted as any parents would act. The Utes, Apaches, Pueblos, and Navajos had little desire to send their children miles away from home for months or years at a time.

Nothing short of kidnapping could fill the schools with children. So the agents and their deputies took on this task. The officers grabbed unwary, unguarded children and sent them away to school, sometimes without telling the parents or even learning the names of the children. Mothers came home to find that their sons or daughters were gone. They had no way of knowing what had become of their children.

Methods were no kinder at the boarding school. As the children had been taken from their parents, they would be removed



Distant boarding schools took Navajo children from their families, their clans, and the People's way of life. These Navajo students (above) *went to the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania in the 1880s. Six months after they arrived* (below), *they had their pictures taken wearing the uniforms and short hair that the school required. J. N. Choate photographs, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.*

from Navajo culture. Students could never speak Navajo, wear Navajo clothing, or play the old Navajo games. Child labor kept the schools going in large part. Whippings enforced the discipline that the school officials thought was needed. If whipping did not work, students were placed in confinement, sometimes alone in black rooms. The dining room was hardly more cheerful than confinement. Uniformed students, often forbidden to talk at the table, ate what food the schools could buy with meager funds or grow with the labor of weak students.

It is no wonder that bars were placed on dormitory windows and policemen stood at the doors. Children escaped in spite of these controls, though, choosing a long walk through the harsh desert weather over the prison life at the boarding school. As more parents suffered the loss of a child and heard the horror stories of those who escaped, Navajo resistance to forced education turned into outright defiance.

At Round Rock in 1892, for instance, Agent Shipley ran into trouble when he tried to recruit students. A Navajo leader, Black Horse, had aroused the local Navajos to resist the agent. Shipley soon found himself inside a trading post, circled by angry fathers. It took a detachment of soldiers to put down the "insurrection" and rescue the agent. The army warned Shipley that taking school children could cause more serious trouble than this, and the army refused to catch Black Horse's band.

Missionaries, like the one shown here, became a common sight on the reservation in the late nineteenth century. During this time, churches chose the Navajo agents and took charge of the schools. Photograph courtesy of the Library of the State Historical Society of Colorado.

The Utah Navajos during the Early Years of the Reservation

Later, much of the dispute over matters like education would center in the San Juan country. But, in the last part of the nineteenth century, the San Juan Navajos felt little pressure from either schools or the agents to give up the People's traditions. Though most agents' reports mentioned plans to move the Navajo agency to the San Juan River, the move was not made before the twentieth century. The remote northern Navajos saw very little of the government that claimed to watch over their lives.

If the government was little seen, white settlers became more common. Cowboys built their ranches on the north side of the San Juan River, and the Mormons built towns at the mouths of streams draining into the river. Miners had their eyes on the country, too. The San Juan Navajos soon began to feel this pressure.

H. L. Mitchell founded the first white settlement in the region in June 1878. By December, eighteen families had joined him at the mouth of McElmo Canyon. From the first, settlers and Indians fought for rights to water and grazing land. Navajos would not accept Mitchell's claims and grazed their flocks on the north side of the river. When there was trouble, Mitchell asked for arms and bullets so that the settlers could protect themselves. Mitchell had a strange relationship with the Navajos. Perhaps because he found himself surrounded, he soon made friends with them. He put up with the Navajos who grazed their stock around his holdings. He even started a trading post to make money from the uncertain friendship. But, while Mitchell worked for Navajo trade and friendship, he also told other people that the tribe was dangerous. He and his son-in-law, Joseph F. Daugherty, wrote letter after letter to complain that many Navajos had settled north of the reservation border. They also complained of raids and asked for troops to defend them in case of war.

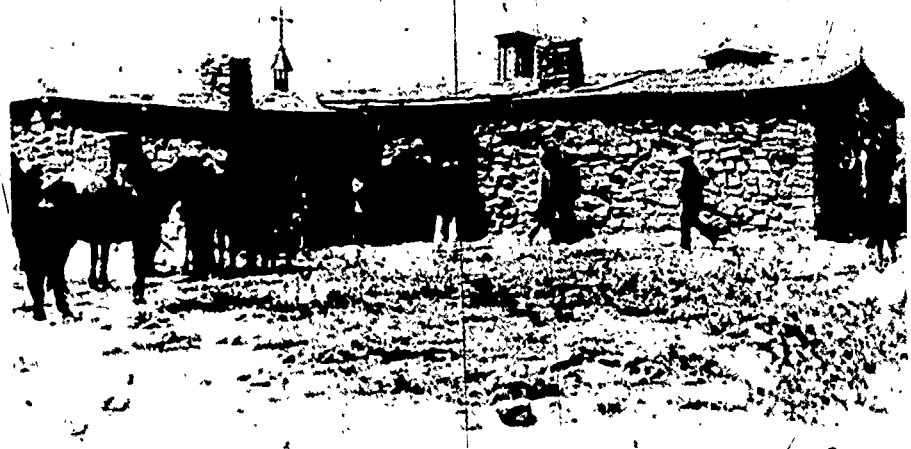
When agency officials checked on his complaints, they were puzzled to find a calm situation. They saw no hint of any real trouble. Some felt that Mitchell hoped to lure the army to his home and profit from their trade. They also saw that, if Mitchell could convince officials that the Navajos must be put back on their reserve, then their land on the river would be his alone to use. Captain Ketchum from Fort Lewis noted, "my sympathies are very much with the Navajos. The people who complain against them are the very worst set of villains in existence."

Many traders set up posts in and around Navajoland. These Navajos were going to the store at Bluff, Utah, to trade. Photograph courtesy of the Library of the State Historical Society of Colorado.

One year after Mitchell came to the San Juan River, the first Mormon settlers arrived. In June 1879, they set up a base camp near the river, between Montezuma and McElmo creeks. Next April they founded Bluff. They had already begun to settle on Navajo lands far to the west, where they had founded Tuba City in 1875. The seasonal movement of the Navajo flocks upset the Mormons, whose farms and pastures lay across the routes between the Navajos' summer and winter grazing lands. Twice a year, Navajo flocks "trespassed" on Mormon land, and complaints flew to the Navajo agent.

Competition for land between Mormon and non-Mormon settlers made matters even more difficult. The battle simmered on three fronts. Some non-Mormons claimed that the Mormons were selling guns to the Indians and even joining forces with them. Other settlers said that Mitchell was selling Navajos ammunition and urging them to graze their flocks north of the river. Army officers suspected that each group was trying to use the Navajos against the other.

Constant cries of complaint came from Mitchell and from Bluff. Patrols by Colorado cavalry and raids from unfriendly Utes increased the tension. Both Mitchell and the Mormons wanted to restrict the Navajos to the river's south shore. The Navajos wanted to graze their herds in the country to the north, to which they had



The old Aneth Trading Post stood at the mouth of McElmo Creek. Photograph courtesy of the Library of the State Historical Society of Colorado.

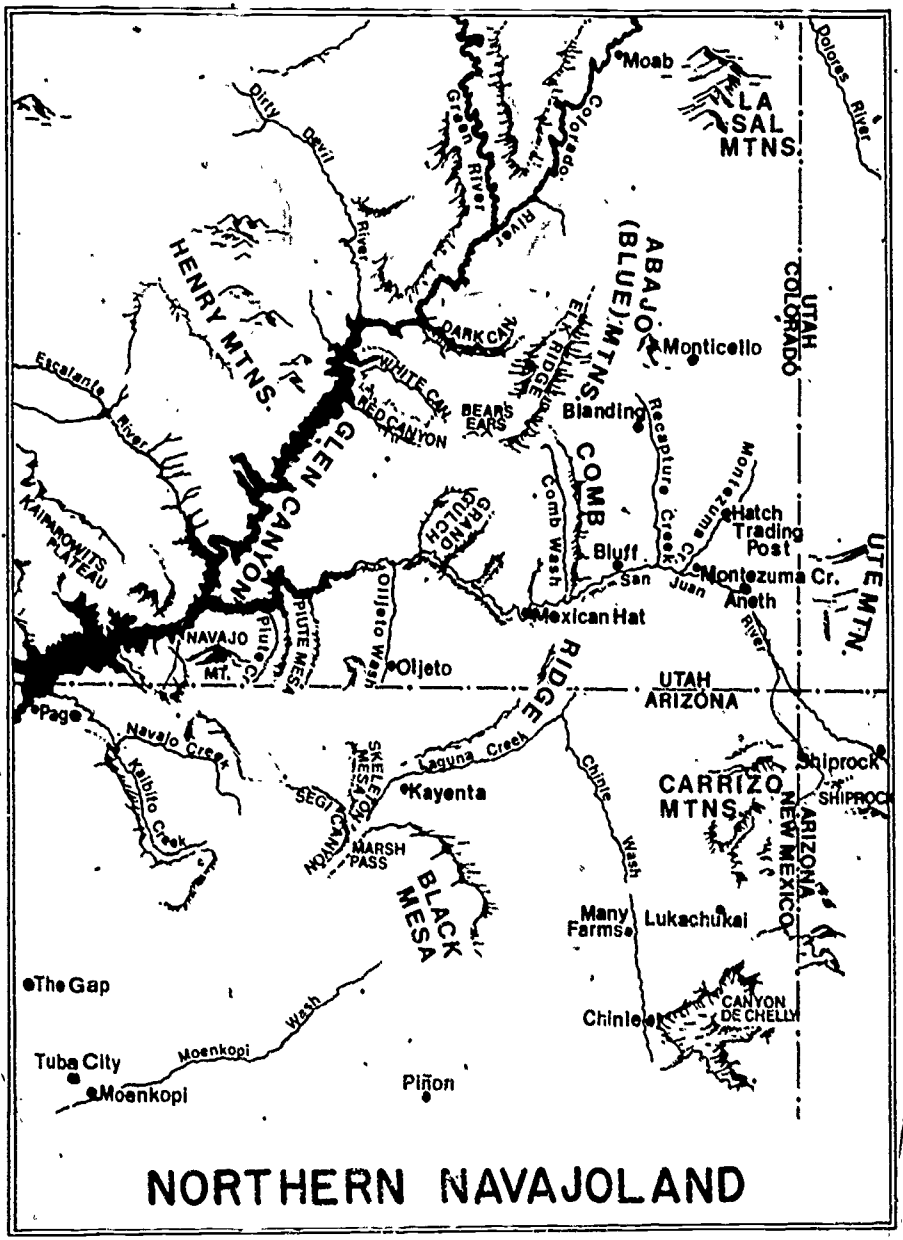
at least as much right as the whites. When the tension led to a shooting or a killing, the settlers first blamed the Navajos. Then they called for cavalry and insisted that the Navajos be returned by force to the reservation south of the river. In many cases, the settlers' complaints were based on nothing more than greed.

The San Juan area must have been a hard place to live for both settlers and Indians. In spite of the seeming friendship between Mitchell and the Navajos, arguments and even shootings were common. Very few of the original settlers made a home on McElmo Creek. In 1880, shortly after Bluff was founded, about half of the town's residents left, and those who stayed asked the Mormon church twice if they could give up the town entirely. Another town at Montezuma Creek fared no better.

Haashkéneinii Biye'

One of Mitchell's sons, Ernest, was killed in 1881. He and James Merrick died while prospecting in Monument Valley, and Navajos were blamed for the killings. Haashkéneinii Biye', the only son of Haashkéneinii, told the story this way:

> . . . [Merrick and Mitchell] came into our country, found father's mine, took some samples, and got out again without being seen. Later they came back for more samples. On their



NORTHERN NAVAJOLAND

> way out they passed near our camp. In the morning I saw more tracks in the snow and followed them. Near what you call the Mittens in Monument Valley I found one of the bodies, with some small sacks of silver. The two men had been killed by the Utes, and some of the Utes were still there, dividing up this stuff. They said they had asked the men for tobacco, and when the prospectors claimed they had none, killed them and took their stuff. My father and his people have often been blamed for these killings, but it is not true. He had nothing to do with it. I have killed many men, but I did not kill these two.

As Haashkéneinii Biye' said, his clan was blamed. Mitchell was furious and called for the army. But when troops looked into the matter, the Navajos were largely cleared of the charges. Mitchell made peace with his neighbors, and the Navajos even swore to defend him against Ute and Paiute attacks.

Three years later, though, in 1884, another shooting angered the San Juan settlers. Haashkéneinii also played a part in this second, more famous killing. Since rumors about the old chief's "Pishlaki" silver mine had leaked out after the Long Walk, white miners like Mitchell and Merrick had been searching Monument Valley for precious metal. These searches worried the headman and his clan, who knew that a rush would follow if a wealthy mine were found.

That spring a pair of miners, Samuel Walcott and James McNally, bought supplies at Mitchell's store and left to prospect in Monument Valley. Like Mitchell and Merrick, they lost their lives on the trail. In this case, though, the details of their death were learned. Haashkéneinii and his son were accused, and the old headman himself went to jail. Though all reports never exactly agreed, Haashkéneinii Biye' probably struck the blow that killed the first man and set the whole affair in motion. He was riding near Chaistla Butte with his wife and some friends when he saw two Americans on the trail. With Bilíiligaii, he rode up to the old man, Walcott, and his young partner, McNally. They greeted each other, and, before camping for the night, the Americans arranged to buy some mutton.

The Navajos came back to the camp the next morning, made the trade, and sat nearby while the miners drank their coffee. McNally then went in search of their horses. Walcott took out a pair of binoculars and let Haashkéneinii Biye' look through them.

Then the American filled a pipe with tobacco, and the little group had a smoke.

After that, the story becomes unclear. Haashkéneinii Biye' said that a boy in the group was curious about the miner's gun and wanted to have a look. A Navajo scout named Pete concluded from other reports that the Navajos planned to kill the American, and the boy was trying to get the gun. For whatever reason, the miner and the boy had a scuffle over the rifle. Haashkéneinii Biye' then struck Walcott in the back of the head with an axe. When Walcott began to revive, according to Haashkéneinii Biye', a man named Dené Ts'osii "took up the axe and hit him three or four times on each side of the head near the ears and killed him right away." Pete decided that it happened otherwise: "The American went to him [the boy] and told him to leave the gun alone, and stooped down to pick it up when Osh-ka-ni-ne-be-gay [Haashkéneinii Biye'] came up behind him, the American, and struck him in the back of the head with the axe, killing him instantly. Ten-nai-tsosi [Dené Ts'osii] was still sitting near the fire. . . ."

A chase came next. The Navajos tried to kill McNally before he could escape and inform the law. Joined by another group of Navajos, the little band attacked McNally. The miner tied three horses together and hid behind them. Either Haashkéneinii Biye' or Dené Ts'osii shot the horses with the American's rifle. Then McNally shot one of the Navajos through the head. When the Navajos drew back, the American got away. Old Haashkéneinii arrived, and they tracked the miner through the night. They caught and shot McNally near Black Mesa.

Dené Ts'osii was quick to make his statement to the Indian agent. Only a few days later, Haashkéneinii and one of his sons, with Ganado Mucho and a small army of friends, came to the agency to tell their side of the story. They were angry about the way that the agent had handled recent killings of Navajos by whites. Because of this, the Navajos would not give themselves up.

In the middle of this problem, a new agent took over. He gave the Navajos ten days, until July 10, 1894, to turn themselves in. On that day, Haashkéneinii came to the agency with the agent's scouts, and the man who had been shot in the head was arrested. Still, Haashkéneinii Biye' could not be found. He had joined a band of Utes, who were ready to fight to keep him with them. The whole country was upset. Old Haashkéneinii's people were up in arms. "There are a great many Indians here and the air is thick

Haashkéneinii, a leader of the Utah Navajos, was involved in several famous incidents. This photograph of the leader and his wife was taken five weeks before his death in 1909. Photograph courtesy of the Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society Library.

with rumors of war and other absurd reports," the agent wrote. "The Indians are badly stirred up," he noted.

The agent and the troops surrounded the Ute camp before dawn, but Haashkéneinii Biye' and his men had fled the night before. The agent found only the remains of Samuel Walcott. Though old Haashkéneinii spent seven months in jail, his son was never caught. When a grand jury at last heard the case in November, no one was indicted.

It seems strange that, in the San Juan conflicts, miners, rather than settlers, were killed. During this period, at least, the miners almost never found anything of value. Unlike the farmers, they seldom posed any threat to the Navajos' way of life. The farmers, though, took advantage of the disturbances. Again and again, the farmers pressed the Navajos to the point of anger, called for their removal to the reserve, and then took what they could of the land.

In the 1880s and 1890s, shootings threatened to provoke open war several times. In 1887 a Navajo killed a Mormon trader and looted his post at Rincon, eight miles below Bluff. Sixty angry Navajos then came to Bluff ready for a fight. In May 1893, a man at Jewett, near the modern town of Kirtland, New Mexico, was killed. A Navajo, Fatty, confessed to the killing and was arrested. He got away, however. When the Indian agent asked local Navajos to help him catch the man, they refused. With the help of troops,

the agent caught the killer. Then he had to face a white mob that wanted to lynch Fatty and drive all Navajos back across the border. Only a careful plea from the agent avoided a battle. There was trouble near Mitchell's in 1893, too. Black Horse and his followers harassed the owner of a store and operator of a wood-ferry on the San Juan. They also took two hundred dollars from the trader. Once again, the agent had to do some quick talking to prevent a fight.

Ba'ililii

As the 1800s drew to a close, whites pushed farther and farther across the San Juan mesas. Conflicts became more substantial. Instead of a few roaming miners and remote trading posts, there was a rapidly growing society in the San Juan region. Threatened by that society, the Navajos defended themselves and their way of life. One medicine man, in particular, led a strong group. That man was Ba'ililii.

Ba'ililii was born about 1859 in Canyon de Chelly but moved to the San Juan River east of Aneth before being sent to Fort Sumner. In the period after Bosque Redondo, he gained notice as a resourceful young man. By the late 1800s, he had become a wealthy medicine man. His name meant "One with Magic Power" or "Knows Many Ceremonials." He knew the Night Chant well, and "he became famous for his skill on the last night of the Mountain Chant."

At the same time, though, Ba'ililii's fame also caused fear. When the People returned from Fort Sumner, he was suspected of being a witch. At that time, many Navajos were accused of being witches, and some were killed. Ba'ililii also made enemies because he never backed down from a confrontation or looked for a compromise. At least once, he was chased out of the Aneth country. While he was away, he learned English and the white way of life from the Mormons to the north.

Forceful and smart, Ba'ililii became a leader. His group believed that the old way of life was sacred. They objected to the high-handed changes that the whites sometimes ordered. When agents chose to push the matter of forced education in San Juan County, Ba'ililii and his followers opposed them. Like their southern kinsmen at Round Rock, they refused to send their children many miles away to a school which could teach them little that the parents thought worth learning.

XI. DINÉ DOO WÁÁSHINDOON: THE NAVAJO AS A NATION

A Time of Growth

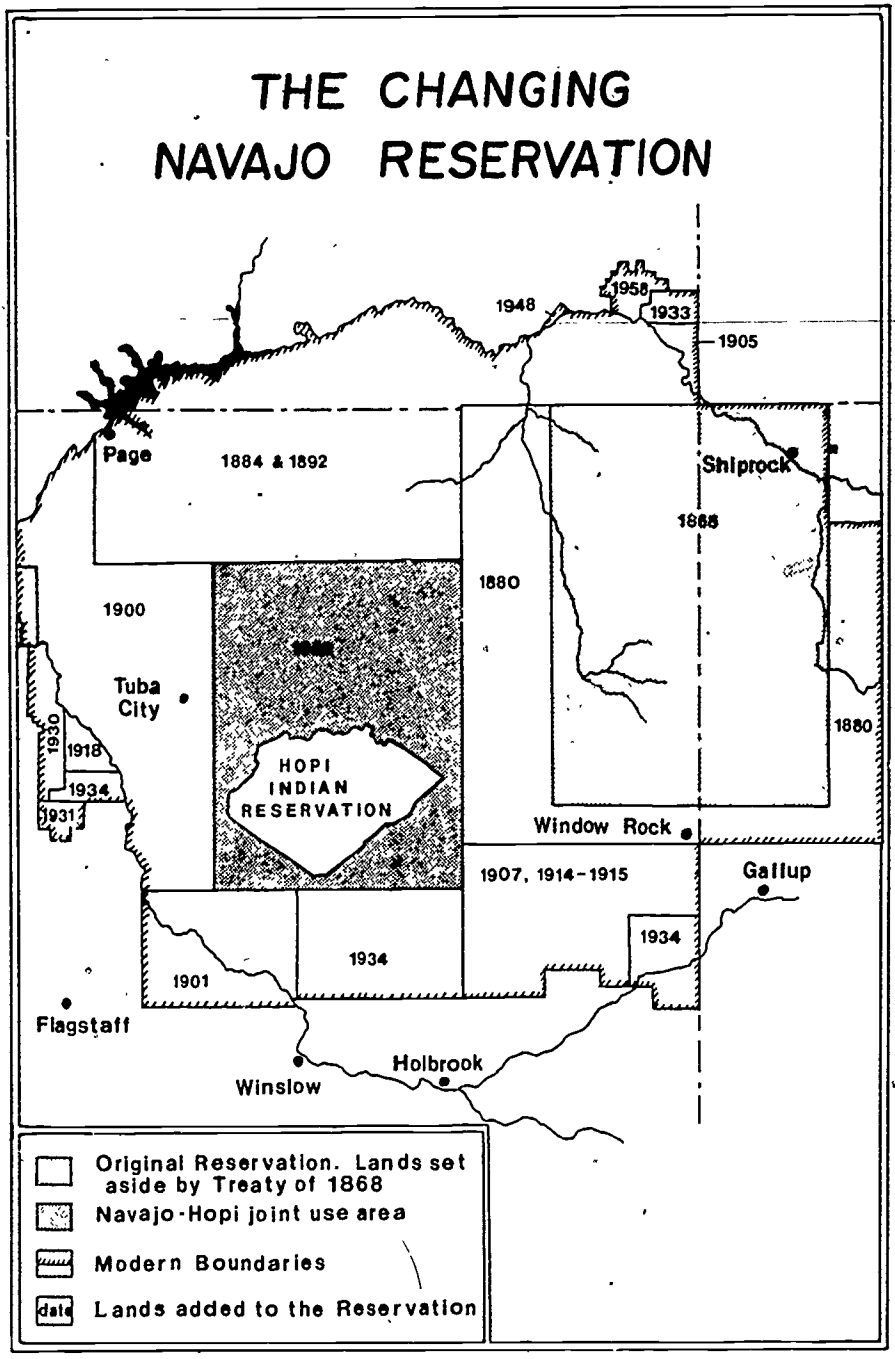
The tribe was growing quickly as this century began. By 1899 the People numbered more than twenty thousand. Since the return from Hwéeldi, the tribe had doubled. Once again Navajo flocks were as large as they had been in the days before the Long Walk. By 1911 Navajoland included more than twelve million acres, and efforts were being made to increase the tribal land.

The fact that the Navajo reservation expanded in this period was an unusual victory. During this time, many groups tried to take away American Indians' tribal lands. Some whites complained that tribes like the Navajos had more than 1,000 acres per person. No Indian needed this much land, the whites argued. So they planned to set aside or "allot" 160 acres for each Navajo. Then the remaining tribal land would be opened to white settlement.

But the critics' numbers were wrong. If 12,000,000 acres had been divided among more than 20,000 Navajos, no Indian would have owned more than 600 acres. And most Navajo land was of no use to farmers or ranchers. The land that could be used was simply full. One man figured out that each sheep-unit had only 7.6 acres. The white ranchers, who wanted to open Navajo lands, had as much as 8.4 acres for each sheep-unit.

Stock Reduction

The People's greatest crisis in the new century came as a result of the size of the Navajo herds. The 1899 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* said that the tribe owned 1,000,000 sheep, 250,000 goats, and more than 100,000 horses. Fragile, dry range land could not support such large flocks and herds for long. Signs of overgrazing had been seen before the turn of the century. Soon the loss of grassland became serious. If any good land was to be saved, officials decided, there was only one thing to do: reduce the size of the herds.


THE CHANGING
NAVAJO RESERVATION
1948
1958
1933
1905
Page
1884 & 1892
Shiprock
1868
1880
1900
Tuba
City
1930
1918
1934
1931
HOPI
INDIAN
RESERVATION
1880
Window Rock
1907, 1914-1915
Gallup
1934
1934
1901
Flagstaff
Holbrook
Winslow
Original Reservation. Lands set aside by Treaty of 1868
Navajo-Hopi joint use area
Modern Boundaries
date
Lands added to the Reservation

As grass for Navajo flocks became scarcer and scarcer, the sheep got thinner and thinner. Each year the wool clip was less than the year before. The land had scars from overrun livestock trails. Weeds began to replace the better grasses that had fed the herds for so long. A few years later, a commissioner of Indian affairs wrote about the conditions, saying: "The soil, trampled and eaten out to the roots of its vegetation, fought a rapidly losing battle. The wind blew it in dust clouds, flash floods swept it in rusty torrents into the Colorado River, sheep erosion pilfered the topsoil." While the Navajos increased four hundred percent, the land was able to produce only one-half as much as it had.

Charles H. Burke began to look at the matter when he was commissioner of Indian affairs in the 1920s. Burke felt that some rules were needed to protect the "rights" of the poorer Navajos who did not own much livestock. While a few *ricos* ran very large herds, more than half of the tribal members owned only a hundred head or fewer. Without more range, there was little a Navajo could do to start a herd of his own. The Navajo economy could not grow. As a result, most Navajos stayed poor, while a few did well.

But Burke did not seem to see the differences between the Navajo and the white economy. Though a Navajo leader may have owned "more than his share" of goods, he used his wealth to help a wide circle of kin, friends, and neighbors. Some large herds made work and income for several related families. Burke's efforts thus worked against the structure of Navajo society. At times his policies brought an end to the work that had helped the poorer members of the tribe. As a result, the stock reduction programs are still a bitter memory for the Navajos who lived through them.

Agents tried to talk Navajos into selling horses that were not used for work. They also tried to improve the quality of Navajo sheep. But these efforts did little to change the size of the herds. Officials then tried taxes. If large stock owners were taxed to pay for the extra burden their herds put on the land, officials thought, then ranchers would not increase the size of their herds. The Tribal Council was not convinced by the official who was sent to explain the government's program in 1928. Still, the council did set a tax of eleven cents per head on all family herds larger than one thousand head.

In spite of these efforts, the problem was still serious. Studies made in the early 1930s showed that the Navajo range was used by twice as many animals as it could support. Even with the large

herds, the People had trouble surviving. At the same time, the Depression largely destroyed the market for the animals. The Navajos had no choice. They simply had to reduce the size of their herds right away. At the same time, they had to improve the quality of the sheep that they kept. In the long run, they also had to find different ways to help their economy. If these things were not done, the range would be ruined, and eventually the Navajos would starve. So it was decided that if ranchers did not comply with reduction orders, force would be used. If no market could be found for the surplus animals, they would have to be killed.

In 1933 John Collier became commissioner of Indian affairs. That fall the Navajo Tribal Council met to talk over the details of a plan for stock reduction. Many government "New Deal" programs had been set up on the reservation to fight the Depression. The new plan made use of those programs. It would begin with a careful program of soil conservation and would try to open new grazing land. It would also start building many new schools so that the Navajos could learn the skills needed for wage work. But the heart of the program was stock reduction. In the first phase, the reservation would be divided into districts. Each district would have to reduce its stock by 10 percent. Each rancher would also have to reduce his stock by that much, whether his herd was large

To save Navajo range lands, the government set up a stock-reduction plan. Government agents, like the man shown here, bought Navajo sheep and goats. Many of the animals were then shot. Photograph courtesy of the Kansas City Federal Records Center.

or small. All in all, 100,000 sheep would be bought from Navajo owners. Since the council could see no other choice, they agreed.

Nothing shocked the Navajos more than seeing this plan in action. At first, it did not work because the People opposed the whole concept. To the Navajos of the 1930s, livestock was wealth. Sheep gave the People security. Selling or killing that stock could only bring hardship, for a person could not eat paper dollars. In a short time, the money was spent, and the sheep were gone. The fact that the money paid for the sheep did not cover Navajo losses caused more anger. Smaller ranchers had to give up productive ewes to meet the quota. Unlike the *ricos,* who could sell mostly worthless stock, the smaller ranchers were badly hurt. In the end, the plan added to the gap between rich and poor.

Still there seemed to be no other way. Members of the Tribal Council supported the plan even though most Navajos opposed it. At the next election, those members were voted out of office and the tribe chose new councilmen who opposed Collier's plan. So it went with each new election. As each new council came to see the problem, they endorsed the reduction program. In later years, few people, Navajo or non-Navajo, have denied the wisdom of the plan. But the high-handed way in which the program was put into effect caused much pain.

Seeing the stock-reduction plan in action shocked the Navajos. They protested the waste and the way the program was carried out. Photograph courtesy of the Kansas City Federal Records Center.

The Navajos had always shown themselves to be a people who were open to change and to useful new ideas. But the stock reduction plans forced them to act against their wishes. Their resistance could have been predicted. Even Collier knew the reasons for what he called their "agonizing and angry resistance." But, in his entire career of working with Indians, he had seen nothing like it.

The plan went through stages. First 90,000 sheep were taken off the range. Then 150,000 goats were bought and removed. But few of the animals were put to good use. Many were herded into canyons and shot. This seemed to help only the buzzards and coyotes who fed on the bodies. The People pointed out the waste, but still the plan went on.

New rules were drawn up. These, it was hoped, would also govern grazing once the reduction was complete. By 1935 the number of sheep and goats was down from about 1,300,000 to about 950,000. Horses were also reduced. In 1940 grazing permits, based on the stock a man owned in 1937, were passed out. Young men who had owned no stock before that date would have to find a new source of income. By 1948, the number of sheep, goats, and horses was down to what seemed to be a safe level. After fifteen bitter years, the problem seemed to be over.

Soil Conservation

A second part of the New Deal plan had been soil conservation. America's program of soil conservation began with the Navajos. While some officials were reducing the herds, others made every effort to improve the land with a better system of irrigation. Unlike earlier programs, the water projects begun during this period and later were well-planned and well-funded. When a bad drought struck in 1950, the huge Navajo Indian Irrigation Project on the San Juan River was already in the planning stages.

New Jobs

Wage work was the third part of the New Deal program for the Navajos. The People had to be taught other ways of making a living besides sheep-herding, and they needed emergency help. The New Deal was the first step in that direction. New Deal work programs hired Navajos to build all kinds of water projects.

Young Navajos learned about hourly work and wages, and about the skills the work required. Wage work became a more and more important source of income for the Navajos. Such projects brought more than two million dollars to the reservation each year.

Because of these programs, the Navajo economy did begin to grow. The trader was still a key part of the local economy, especially in the more remote parts of the reservation. But he no longer ran the economy of whole communities.

At the same time, as paved roads were built, more tourists began to come to Navajoland. The market for Navajo blankets and jewelry quickly grew. As demand went up, so did the prices the Navajo craftsmen could ask. Weavers and jewelers began to get better pay for the time they spent on their art. Another new source of income came from the half-million acres of forest in Navajoland, which can produce fifty million board-feet of lumber each year. When the tribe began to cut the timber, more jobs were created. Tourists also meant more jobs, since they brought money to motels, restaurants, and gas stations that hired Navajos. Soon most young Navajo men began working for wages.

For many years, though, the change to this new way of earning a living caused problems for the young Navajos. Working away from home could be miserable. Ruth Underhill explains:

> The Navajo might know some English, but he had not learned the general aggressiveness with which a white man pushes himself ahead in the world. Nor did he dream that, in order to make friends, he must "sell" himself. Used to the protecting presence of clan, family, and Navajo schoolmates, he simply waited for the group to carry him along. The group did not.

Thus survival often required a new way of life. Many Navajo workers made the change. For a while, World War II provided as many jobs as the Navajos could use. When the war ended, though, many Navajos found themselves out of work.

One answer was to start Navajo businesses. If Navajos could set up shop, other Navajos could have jobs as well as services. Besides, at such jobs, their children could work with friends near home. No Navajo youth would have to face the strangeness of a job in a white city.

A crowd gathered to watch this Navajo foot race in the early twentieth century. A Simeon Schwemberger photograph, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives.

Mining

More than tourism, timber, tribal business, or wage work, mining came to support the Navajo Tribe. Miners never did find much gold or silver in Navajoland. The wealth that they found was black — coal and oil. In 1907 a well in a remote part of Monument Valley began to pump Navajo oil. Soon it was clear that tribal lands held large pools of oil. The Aneth Extension, fifty thousand acres that Congress had given the tribe in 1933, became the site of the Greater Aneth Oil Field. Natural gas also came out of nearby wells. The mining of uranium added to the tribe's royalty income. Deposits of bentonite, gypsum, lime, alum, and other minerals have been found as well.

The mining changed Navajo life in many ways. Mines and drilling rigs have hired a great number of Navajos. Navajo labor built many of the houses and pipelines that support large-scale mining. This income was welcome to many people in the San Juan area.

More important than wages, though, were the royalties the tribe earned from the mines. The Tribal Council chose not to divide the wealth among all the People. It would not have helped anyone much if it had been split up that way. Instead the council put the money in banks. There it earned interest and paid for many tribal projects. A scholarship fund was begun and later expanded. Money was set aside for an irrigation project. The

money also paid for a sawmill. A utility commission was formed, and sewage and water projects were planned.

Tribal Government

Mining had a more important effect. It was mining that first showed the need for tribal organization. Only a group that could speak for the tribe as a whole could grant leases to the mining companies. The first attempt to organize was at a general meeting held at the San Juan Agency in 1921 to approve land leases for oil and gas drilling. Then, because there was no other group to do it, three important Navajos formed a Business Council in 1922 to deal with the oil companies. Chee Dodge, Charlie Mitchell, and Dugal Chee Bekiss sat on the council.

Later, Commissioner Burke drew up a plan for Navajo government. It called for a "Commissioner of the Navajos" who would be chosen by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Delegates from six local districts would form the council. This group first met at Fort Defiance in 1923 and elected Henry Chee Dodge as chairman. The delegates were Robert Martin, Deshna Cahcheschillige, Jacob C. Morgan, Todeschene Bardony, Hosteen Usahelin, Louis Watchman, George Bancroft, Zagenitzo, Hosteen Begoiden Bega, Hosteen Nez, Becenti Bega, and Hosteen Yazzie Jesus.

But, in those early years, most Navajos thought the council was a puppet of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other whites. And the People did not trust a representative government to speak for the whole group on an issue. Who would speak for the minority? they asked. Such an idea had real dangers.

Because of these fears, the Navajos did not use the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. This act called for tribal constitutions and elections so that tribes could make a start toward self-government. Each tribe could vote to accept or reject the act. The Navajos, for their part, chose to try their own plan of government. Besides, at that time, the People feared that the act would give the government more control over stock reduction.

The tribe wanted to allow for the opinions of the small groups on the outskirts of the reservation. So they divided the area into chapters. Each chapter would elect members to a central tribal council. Local government would take place at the chapter level. The plan was a compromise, and it worked well. The first chapters were formed at Leupp, near Flagstaff. Others were soon set up all over the reservation.

In 1936 the council chose an executive committee to plan the government and constitution of the Navajos. A constitutional assembly met in 1937. The constitution it wrote was turned down by the Interior Department. In spite of this, the tribe held an election in 1938. The Navajos chose a 74-member tribal council, with Jacob Morgan as chairman. Tribal headquarters were moved to Window Rock, and a modern town grew up around the tribe's new capital.

After the election of the Navajo Tribal Council, the far-flung groups of Navajos began to think of themselves as one people. Now they had a way to take action as a united tribe. They would take control of their own affairs. They were anxious to govern themselves. But some elements of Navajo life were still strongly tied to the United States government. Education, for example, was one of the People's greatest concerns. Yet, through the first part of this century, the Bureau of Indian Affairs still made most of the decisions about how Navajo students should be educated.

Education

Only three hundred students went to government boarding schools in 1903. By 1910, though, attendance was on its way up, and less force was used to make students attend. More schools were built to teach more children. Twenty-five years later; Navajos went to boarding schools at Keams Canyon, Little Water, Tuba City, Shiprock, Leupp, Chinle, Crownpoint, Toadlena, and Wingate. Some parents sent students to schools as far away as Albuquerque, Grand Junction, Santa Fe, Phoenix, Fort Lewis, Fort Apache, and the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California.

But all the problems with the old schools had not yet been solved. Harsh discipline still caused a great deal of pain to the children and their parents. Children still had to suffer through long hours of hard work. Students marched from one class or job to the next. Conditions were still worse than they should have been.

During this period, many students found that they were misfits when they came home from school. School graduates were often strangers in their own homes. Their new tastes and habits did not fit with the traditional ones. Parents and children hardly knew what to do. So, when a child came home, he was blessed and purified of Anglo influence. Then he was thrust back into the old way.

In the twentieth century, many changes were made in the schools. Navajo parents were able to play a greater role in their children's education, and more and more Navajos began to attend school. These students were photographed outside the Western Navajo School at Tuba City, Arizona. Photograph courtesy of Record Group 75, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Slowly, the "misfits" were accepted and education improved. By the mid-1930s, the B.I.A.'s policy had changed. Instead of forcing the children to accept white ways, B.I.A. schools began trying to tolerate and encourage the Indian ways. The children were taught in Navajo as well as English. Officials also decided that the boarding school was not the best place to teach a young child. The government began a large program to build day-schools. No less than fifty day-schools went up on the Navajo reservation during the 1930s. That meant that a Navajo child could spend his life with his parents and attend school during the day. His parents could come to school to see what went on there and even take adult classes themselves. At the same time, the boarding schools were changed. The older children who went to them would live as students, not laborers. They would have real job training. Education soon became a key part of Navajo life.

The first graduates often sent their own children to school. Knowing the schools' weaknesses and strengths, they wanted a say in what their children would learn and how it would be taught. Soon Navajo parents began electing Navajos to school boards, and Navajo teachers took jobs in local schools. Today, at last, the schools which the Navajo children attend are becoming truly public.

Education and the Utah Navajos: Ba'ililii

The Navajos' desire to have a say in the education of their children was made clear in 1907. By that time, Ba'ililii and his San Juan followers felt the government had gone too far in forcing children to go to school. Superintendent William H. Shelton, who was behind the forced attendance, was just as strong-willed as Ba'ililii.

Plans had been made as early as 1894 to open a Navajo school in Bluff. Agent Plummer had gone so far as to bring Miss Anna C. Egan to Bluff and place her in charge of a day school. She was to camp out on the site and prepare the children. As supplies arrived, she was to take charge of building the school. At first, classes were held in a brush shelter or a tent. There were no funds for a real school building.

The *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* later noted that the Navajos were "interested and pleased" with the idea of a school. In 1906 the town of Bluff sent a delegation to Superintendent Shelton. They offered to sell him the entire town for use as a school. If the Bluff school had been built, Navajo children could have gone to school near their homes and parents. Perhaps then there would have been no trouble with Ba'ililii. But the agency could not afford to build the Bluff school. So, in 1907, Shelton decided to send the San Juan school children all the way to Shiprock. The San Juan parents, for their part, wanted their children to stay at home.

Ba'ililii's resistance was not quiet. Once, after a council near Aneth, he and his friends shot at the stumps around their camp. They pretended their targets were the men who came to take the children away to school. When one of Shelton's Indian policemen, Sandoval, warned Ba'ililii not to disobey the official's orders, he was chased away. Ba'ililii used every chance to show his distaste for the agency's orders. He even stopped his followers from having their sheep dipped.

In response to all this, Shelton took forceful action. He wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs in March that "they [Ba'ililii's group] have purchased arms and ammunition and are threatening to kill the farmer, myself, the policemen, or anyone else that interferes with them in any way." Shelton claimed that Ba'ililii was gaining support by threatening "to kill those who oppose him and his followers." Against the advice of others, Shelton chose to visit the area and look at the problem himself.

Shelton and Special Agent R. S. Connell made the trip in April. They reported that Ba'ililii and his group were well-armed and had raided the herds of the whites living near the reservation. Shelton asked that soldiers be placed near Aneth to control the Navajos. He also asked that the Navajos be disarmed and the leaders sent away.

The Navajos, for their part, were angry at stupid government attempts at irrigation. The government had cut new ditches across Navajo farms and spoiled the ditches that the Navajos had already made. Since then, no water had flowed through new or old ditches. The gates at the head of the new ditches were poorly built. When they were opened, the river poured in with such force that it cut deep gullies through the fields.

The old conflicts over grazing lands and the old complaints about off-reservation Navajos also kept things tense. When a sheep-dip was held at Aneth, Ba'ililii refused to let his sheep be dipped. White ranchers heard reports that the Navajos had armed themselves for a fight. Then a rival headman died. In his last words, he supposedly said Ba'ililii had killed him with witchcraft.

Shelton asked for troops again. He pointed out that, even if there was no fighting, the troops would restore confidence in his power. Then he could regroup his police force and restore order. The secretary of the interior agreed. He felt that if the Navajos saw a show of force, they would not think of starting a fight. Without troops, the conflict could become "a difficult problem, and one that may involve bloodshed." Two troops of Fort Wingate's Fifth Cavalry left for Aneth in late October. The plan was, "after arriving at Aneth and marching by his place the next morning, early, to return and seize him [Ba'ililii]." He and other "ring-leaders" would be taken away as prisoners.

Shelton took no chances. He arrived at the Four Corners Trading Post in advance of the troops. There he surprised and arrested Cisco, a member of Ba'ililii's group. Then he held "all Indians entering Four Corners after our arrival, for fear of them carrying information to Bai-a-lil-le of the arrival of troops. . . ."

Shelton learned that Ba'ililii and some of his men were performing a ceremony on the south side of the San Juan River, four miles east of Aneth. He made his final plans. Only then did he inform his troops of their mission. After telling the friendly Indians of his plan, he "put them all under guard until we were ready to move." He was afraid some of them might get word to Ba'ililii.

The troops moved away from the trading post at 2:30 A.M. on October 29. They crossed the San Juan River. Then, at about 5:45 A.M., they surrounded the hogan and rushed in. They found Ba'ililii, Polly, and another Navajo just getting up from sleep. Navajos from nearby hogans heard the noise, and some came to the hogan. They were arrested and handcuffed. Others shot at the police and the troops. The fight lasted fifteen or twenty minutes. When it was over, two Navajo men had been killed. All the others in the area had been captured or had escaped through the heavy brush. By 7:30 A.M., the troops were in Aneth with their prisoners.

Naabaahi Yázhí, or "Little Warrior," was shot through the stomach without warning while standing in front of Ba'ililii's hogan. Ditł'ee'ii Yázhí, or "Little Wet One," was hit in the head while shooting from behind a tree. Ch'ah Ditł'ói, or "Fuzzy Hat," escaped after being wounded in the leg. He had raised the alarm by firing the first shot at the soldiers. It was said of Ba'ililii: "When Bai-a-lil-le was captured, he growled like a bear. They tried to make him stop, but he wouldn't, so one of the soldiers took his six-shooter and hit him over the head with it three times and knocked him cold. Then they tied him up. He was covered with blood." In addition to Cisco, Ba'ililii, and Polly, the troops also took Hastíín Tsoh, Ba'ililii Bida', Atsidii, Bistł'ee'ii, Naakai Biye', Tliziłani Biye', and Meleyon.

Soon after Ba'ililii and his followers were captured on October 29, 1907, this picture was taken of them. Among those shown are Ba'ililii (seated, third from right), *Polly* (immediately to his right), *and Agent Shelton* (standing, sixth from left). *Photograph courtesy of the Research Section, Parks and Recreation, Navajo Tribe*

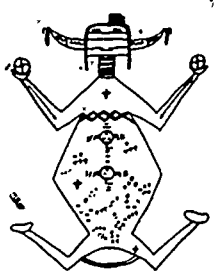
The troops took the prisoners to Fort Wingate. Hastíin Tsoh, an old man, was set free. The officer-in-charge thought that all the men should serve at least two years at hard labor and Ba'ilílii and Polly should serve ten. The secretary of the interior wanted them held at Fort Huachuca indefinitely. Meleyon, who soon came down with a case of tuberculosis, was set free but confined to the southern part of the reservation.

Rumors spread that Bíla' Shizhahi, or "Crooked Finger," a Pinyon, Arizona, headman, was planning revenge. Though it was thought he might kill one of the agent's policemen, nothing ever came of the scare. For a while, all seemed quiet after the prisoners were taken away.

But soon protests were raised. In the first place, it seemed Ba'ilílii himself was guilty only of gambling, rustling, and whiskey-trading. He was not guilty of the more serious crimes that had led to the attack. Also, the Navajos had never been given lawyers. They had been locked up without a trial. They had also been assaulted. Howard Antes of Aneth's Navajo Faith Mission began to work for their release. He was soon joined by the Indian Rights Association. Though the District Court of Arizona turned down a motion to set them free, all but Ba'ilílii and Polly were released in early 1909. In March the Supreme Court overturned the decision, and the two remaining Navajos were home by July. Two years later, Ba'ilílii died when his boat capsized in the San Juan River. His body was never found.

Ba'ilílii, like all traditional Navajos, had been very concerned about the government's threats to the Navajo way of life. When the government cut the students' sacred hair and taught them not to respect the Navajo way, the Navajos fought back. Despite the government's efforts to turn them into whitemen, the Navajos would remain Diné.

Like many Navajo leaders, Ba'ilili was concerned about education and threats to the Navajo way of life
Photograph courtesy of the SMC Cartographic Section, Concho, Oklahoma.



XII. TÁDÍDÍÍN K'EH ATIINGÓÓ: ALONG THE POLLEN PATH

The story of the People has been told only to this point. But this is not the end. Much more of the story remains to be told; it will take years to both live and tell it.

We have come far from the time of the Emergence, yet the power of that time is still with the People. When the People came into this Earth-Surface World, they found it muddy and shapeless. Monsters stalked the land and threatened the People and their sacred ways. But the Holy People protected the ancestors of the Navajos. They gave the People the power to deal with all Monsters who would threaten their way. By using this power, Monster Slayer and Born For Water brought order, peace, balance, and harmony to the People in ancient times. Even today they help the People. Coyote is still around, too.

The Holy People sent Changing Woman to form a People a nation. From the time she created the first of the clans until today, the People have had to overcome many obstacles and defeat many monsters. In many ways, these new monsters were as fearsome as Yeitsoh. The armored and mounted Spaniards were only the first of a long parade of aliens who came to the People's land. Some came to make peace, most to make war. The People do not forget. The Long Walk still burns in their memory. So do reservation boundary disputes, stock reductions, and the intrusions of miners and farmers. Through all of this the Navajos have endured. And they have done more. They have continued to adapt and grow in harmony with the power they received from Changing Woman. Sheep graze near oil and gas wells, horses stand next to pickup trucks, summer shade houses are built near new frame homes, and new schools replace old ones. But the Navajos themselves have remained independent through all changes, clinging to the trail of beauty.

The People strive to walk in the pollen path and pray with the singer:

Thus happily you accomplish your tasks.
Happily the old men will regard you.
Happily the old women will regard you.
Happily the young men will regard you.
Happily the young women will regard you.
Happily the boys will regard you.
Happily the girls will regard you.
Happily the children will regard you.
Happily the [headmen] will regard you.
Happily, as they scatter in different directions, they will regard you.
Happily, as they approach their homes, they will regard you.
Happily may their roads home be on the trail of pollen.
Happily may they all get back.
In [sacred] beauty, happily I walk.
With [sacred] beauty before me, I walk.
With [sacred] beauty behind me, I walk.
With [sacred] beauty below me, I walk.
With [sacred] beauty above me, I walk.
With [sacred] beauty all around me, I walk.
It is finished in [sacred] beauty.
It is finished in [sacred] beauty.
It is finished in [sacred] beauty.
It is finished in [sacred] beauty.[17]

So it is said, "Walking in sacred beauty, the story goes on."

APPENDIX

Treaty between the United States of America and the Navajo Tribe of Indians
Concluded June 1, 1868

Articles of a Treaty and Agreement made and entered into at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, on the first day of June, 1868, by and between the United States, represented by its Commissioners, Lieutenant General W. T. Sherman and Colonel Samuel F. Tappan, of the one part, and the Navajo nation or tribe of Indians, represented by their Chiefs and Headmen, duly authorized and empowered to act for the whole people of said nation or tribe, (the names of said Chiefs and Headmen being hereto subscribed,) of the other part, witness:

Article I. From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall for ever cease. The government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to keep it.

If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington city, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also to reimburse the injured persons for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States and at peace therewith, the Navajo tribe agree that they will, on proof made to their agent, and on notice by him, deliver up the wrongdoer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws; and in case they wilfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be reimbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due them under this treaty, or any others that may be made with the United States. And the President may prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under this article as in his judgment may be proper; but no such damage shall be adjusted and paid until examined and passed upon by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and no one sustaining loss whilst violating, or because of violating, the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States shall be reimbursed therefor.

Article II The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit: bounded on the north by the 37th degree of north latitude, south by an east and west line passing through the site of old Fort Defiance, in Canon Bonito, east by the parallel of longitude which, if prolonged south, would pass through old Fort Lyon, or the Ojo-de-oso, Bear Spring, and west by a parallel of longitude about 109° 30′ west of Greenwich, provided it embraces the outlet of the Canon-de-Chilly, which canon is to be all included in this reservation, shall be, and the same is hereby, set apart for the use and occupation of the Navajo tribe of Indians, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among them, and the United States agrees that no persons except those herein so authorized to do, and except such officers, soldiers, agents, and employes of the government, or of the Indians, as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties imposed by law, or the orders of the President, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in, the territory described in this article.

Article III The United States agrees to cause to be built at some point within said reservation, where timber and water may be convenient, the following buildings: a warehouse, to cost not exceeding twenty-five hundred dollars, an agency building for the residence of the agent, not to cost exceeding three thousand dollars, a carpenter shop and blacksmith shop, not to cost exceeding one thousand dollars each; and a school-house and chapel, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced to attend school, which shall not cost to exceed five thousand dollars.

Article IV. The United States agrees that the agent for the Navajos shall make his home at the agency building; that he shall reside among them and shall keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by or against the Indians as

may be presented for investigation, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his finding, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

Article V. If any individual belonging to said tribe, or legally incorporated with it, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land book" as herein described, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select, and cause to be certified to him or her for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land, not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate containing a description thereof, and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Navajo Land Book."

The President may at any time order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of said settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property between the Indians and their descendants as may be thought proper.

Article VI. In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as may be settled on said agricultural parts of this reservation, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school, and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with, and the United States agrees that, for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher.

The provisions of this article to continue for not less than ten years.

Article VII. When the head of a family shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of two years, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements to the value of twenty-five dollars.

Article VIII. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named under any treaty or treaties heretofore made, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency house on the reservation herein named, on the first day of September of each year for ten years, the following articles, to wit:

Such articles of clothing, goods, or raw materials in lieu thereof, as the agent may make his estimate for, not exceeding in value five dollars per Indian -- each Indian being encouraged to manufacture their own clothing, blankets, etc., to be furnished with no article which they can manufacture themselves. And, in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based.

And in addition to the articles herein named, the sum of ten dollars for each person entitled to the beneficial effects of this treaty shall be annually appropriated for a period of ten years, for each person who engages in farming or mechanical pursuits, to be used by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the

Indians may indicate to be proper, and if within the ten years at any time it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing, under the article, can be appropriated to better uses for the Indians named herein, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may change the appropriation to other purposes, but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named, provided they remain at peace. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery.

Article IX In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty, and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy any territory outside their reservation, as herein defined, but retain the right to hunt on any unoccupied lands contiguous to their reservation, so long as the large game may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase; and they, the said Indians, further expressly agree:

1st. That they will make no opposition to the construction of railroads now being built or hereafter to be built, across the continent.

2nd. That they will not interfere with the peaceful construction of any railroad not passing over their reservation as herein defined.

3rd. That they will not attack any persons at home or travelling, nor molest or disturb any wagon trains, coaches, mules or cattle belonging to the people of the United States, or to persons friendly therewith.

4th. That they will never capture or carry off from the settlements women or children.

5th. They will never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them harm.

6th. They will not in future oppose the construction of railroads, wagon roads, mail stations, or other works of utility or necessity which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States; but should such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the government will pay the tribe whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of said commissioners to be a chief or head man of the tribe.

7th. They will make no opposition to the military posts or roads now established, or that may be established, not in violation of treaties heretofore made or hereafter to be made with any of the Indian tribes.

Article X No future treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described, which may be held in common, shall be of any validity or force against said Indians unless agreed to and executed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same, and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him as provided in article 5 of this treaty.

Article XI The Navajos also hereby agree that at any time after the signing of these presents they will proceed in such manner as may be required of them by the agent, or by the officer charged with their removal to the reservation herein provided for, the United States paying for their subsistence en route, and providing a reasonable amount of transportation for the sick and feeble.

Article XII. It is further agreed by and between the parties to this agreement that the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars appropriated or to be appropriated shall be disbursed as follows, subject to any conditions provided in the law, to wit:

1st. The actual cost of the removal of the tribe from the Bosque Redondo reservation to the reservation, say fifty thousand dollars.

2nd. The purchase of fifteen thousand sheep and goats, at a cost not to exceed thirty thousand dollars.

3rd. The purchase of five hundred beef cattle and a million pounds of corn, to be collected and held at the military post nearest the reservation, subject to the orders of the agent, for the relief of the needy during the coming winter.

4th. The balance, if any, of the appropriation to be invested for the maintenance of the Indians pending their removal, in such manner as the agent who is with them may determine.

5th. The removal of this tribe to be made under the supreme control and direction of the military commander of the Territory of New Mexico, and when completed, the management of the tribe to revert to the proper agent.

Article XIII The tribe herein named, by their representatives, parties to this treaty, agree to make the reservation herein described their permanent home, and they will not as a tribe make any permanent settlement elsewhere, reserving the right to hunt on the lands adjoining the said reservation formerly called theirs, subject to the modifications named in this treaty and the orders of the commander of the department in which said reservation may be for the time being, and it is further agreed and understood by the parties to this treaty, that if any Navajo Indian or Indians shall leave the reservation herein described to settle elsewhere, he or they shall forfeit all the rights, privileges, and annuities conferred by the terms of this treaty, and it is further agreed by the parties to this treaty, that they will do all they can to induce Indians now away from reservations set apart for the exclusive use and occupation of the Indians, leading a nomadic life, or engaged in war against the people of the United States, to abandon such a life and settle permanently in one of the territorial reservations set apart for the exclusive use and occupation of the Indians.

In testimony of all which the said parties have hereunto, on this the first day of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, at Fort Sumner, in the Territory of New Mexico, set their hands and seals.

W T. Sherman
Lt. Gen'l, Indian Peace Commissioner.

S. F. Tappan,
Indian Peace Commissioner

Barboncito, Chief.	Narbono Segundo	Francisco.
Armijo.	Ganado Mucho.	Torivio.
Delgado	Riquo.	Desdendado.
Manuelito	Juan Martin.	Juan.
Largo	Serginto.	Guero.
Herreto	Grande.	Gugadore.
Chiqueto	Inoetenito.	Cabason.
Muerto De Hombre	Muchachos Mucho.	Barbon Segundo.
Hombrio	Chiqueto Segundo.	Cabares Colorados.
Narbono	Cabello Amarillo.	

Attest:

Geo. W. G Getty,
Col. 37th Inf'y. Bt. Maj Gen'l U. S. A

Chas. McClure,
Bt Maj and C. S. U. S. A.

B. S Roberts,
Bt Brg Gen'l U S A., Lt Col 3rd Cav'y.

James F. Weeds,
Bt. Maj. and Asst. Surg U. S. A.

J. Cooper McKee,
Bt Lt Col. Surgeon U S. A

J. C. Sutherland,
Interpreter.

Theo. H Dodd,
U S Indian Ag't for Navajos

William Vaux,
Chaplain U. S A.

Ratification Advised July 25, 1868.

Proclaimed August 12, 1868.

SOURCES FOR A UTAH NAVAJO HISTORY

Chapters I-IV: Traditional Navajo History

The most acceptable classification of Navajo ceremonials and one based on information obtained from Navajo singers is Leland C. Wyman and Clyde Kluckhohn, "Navajo Classification of Their Song Ceremonials," *American Anthropological Association Memoirs* 50 (1938).

The two men have also written the excellent "Introduction to Navajo Chant Practice," *American Anthropological Association Memoirs* 53 (1940). A thorough analysis of Navajo religious symbolism and the role of the Yei'i can be found in Gladys Reichard, *Navajo Religion* (New Haven: Princeton University Press, 1950). The themes of Navajo history are discussed in Katherine Spencer, "Mythology and Values: An Analysis of Navajo Chantway Myths," *American Folklore Society Memoirs* 48 (1957), which also contains summary outlines of the stories. Other paraphrases and summaries include Ethelou Yazzie, *Navajo History*, vol. 1 (Many Farms, Arizona: Navajo Community College Press, 1971); and Margaret S. Link, *The Pollen Path* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1956). A series of bulletins from the Wheelwright Museum in Santa Fe, formerly known as the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art, summarizes the stories of the Eagle-Catching Way, the Bead Way, the Big Star Way, the Wind Way, the Feather or Plume Way, and the Night Way or Yeibechai. The Museum also published Franc J. Newcomb, *Navajo Folk Tales* (1967).

There are several complete texts or extensive summaries of chants, some of which include sandpaintings. Foremost among these are those in the series published by the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art: (I) Mary C. Wheelwright, *Navajo Creation Myth* (1942); (II) Mary C. Wheelwright, *Hail and Water Chants* (1946), (III) Mary C. Wheelwright, *The Emergence Myth According to the Hanelthnahye or Upward-Reaching Rite* (1949), (IV) Mary C. Wheelwright and David McAllester, *The Myths and Prayers of the Great Star Chant and the Myth of the Coyote Chant* (1956); and (V) Leland C. Wyman, *The Red Antway of the Navajo* (1965). Washington Matthews left records of several ceremonies in *The Mountain Chant*, Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1887); "The Night Chant," *American Museum of Natural History Memoirs* 6 (1902); and "Navajo Legends," *American Folklore Society Memoirs* 5 (1897). Fr. Berard Haile, O.F.M., published "Origin Legend of the Navajo Enemyway," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology* 17 (1938); *The Origin Legend of the Navajo Flintway* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); and *Legend of the Ghostway Ritual in the Male Branch of Shootingway* (St. Michael's, Arizona: St. Michael's Press, 1950). Leland C. Wyman has published *Beautyway* (New York: Pantheon, 1957); *The Windways of the Navajo* (Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum of Fine Arts, 1962), *Blessingway* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970); and *The Mountainway of the Navajo* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975). An important and beautiful work by Franc J. Newcomb and Gladys Reichard, *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937), has been re-released in paperback (New York: Dover, 1975); it includes a summary of the story as well as a thorough discussion of sandpainting. Another rare work equally deserving of attention is Gladys Reichard, *Navajo Medicine Man: Sandpaintings and Legends of Miguelito* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1959), which summarizes the Bead Way as well as giving a lengthy paraphrase of the Male Shooting Way.

Navajo Coyote stories are discussed in W. W. and D. W. Hill, "Navajo Coyote Tales and Their Position in the Southern Athabascan Group," *Journal of American Folklore* 58 (1945), and in Franz Boas, "Northern Elements in Navajo Mythology," *American Anthropologist* 10 (1897).

Chapter V: The Search for Dinétah

Several general works discuss the migration of Athabascans into the Southwest. These include George E. Hyde, *Indians of the High Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959); Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navajo and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); and Waldo Wedel, *Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961). The references cited earlier contain historical information from oral tradition. Additional material was obtained from Aileen O'Bryan, "The Diné: Origin Myths of the Navajo Indians," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 163 (1956), and from Washington Matthews, "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians," *Journal of American Folklore* 3 (1890).

Most strongly associated with the High Plains migration route are James H. and Dolores A. Gunnerson. He has published, "An Introduction to Plains Apache Archaeology — The Dismal River Aspect," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 173 (1960); she has written "The Southern Athapaskans: Their Arrival in the Southwest," *El Palacio* 63 (1956). A good overview of Northwestern Plains archaeology is provided in William Mulloy, *A Preliminary Historical Outline of the Northwestern Plains*, University of Wyoming Publications, vol. 22, no. 1 (1958).

The chief advocates of the intermountain route are Harold A. and Betty H. Huscher, who describe their survey of the Uncompahgre Plateau in "Athapaskan Migration via the Intermontane Region," *American Antiquity* 8 (1942), and the "The Hogan Builders of Colorado," *Southwestern Lore* 9, no. 2 (1943). They suggest a connection with the discoveries of Julian H. Steward published in "The Ancient Caves of the Great Salt Lake Region," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 116 (1937).

A role for the Fremont culture in this drama may be suggested in several University of Utah Anthropological Papers. Among them are those by C. Melvin Aikens, no. 82 (1966), Floyd W. Sharrock, no. 77 (1966), and John P. Marwitt, no. 95 (1970). See also H. M. Wormington, *A Reappraisal of the Fremont Culture*, Proceedings of the Denver Museum of Natural History, no. 1 (1955), and H. M. Wormington and Robert H. Lister, *Archaeological Investigations on the Uncompahgre Plateau*, No. 2 in the same series (1956).

Stephen C. Jett's "Pueblo Indian Migrations: An Evaluation of the Possible Physical and Cultural Determinants," *American Antiquity* 29 (1964), discusses the possibility of Athabascan contact with the Southwestern Indians during the Great Pueblo Period, and includes a substantial bibliography.

Navajo archaeology is the special province of Alfred Dittert, James J. Hester, Frank Eddy, and others who worked in the Navajo Reservoir area. Their work on the early phases and on the historic Dinétah and Gobernador Largo phases is published in Numbers 1 (1958), 6, 9, and 10 (1963), and 15 (1966) of the *Museum of New Mexico Papers in Anthropology*. Tree-ring dates collected for the Navajo land claim were published by M. A. Stokes and T. L. Smiley in volumes 25 (1962), 26 (1964), and 27 (1966) of the *Tree Ring Bulletin*. A suggestive article for the prehistoric period in the Navajo area is Edward T. Hall, "Recent Clues to Athapaskan Prehistory in the Southwest," *American Antiquity* 46 (1944). A good summary of the earliest historic period in the Southwest is John P. Harrington, "Southern Peripheral Athapaskawan Origins," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 100 (1949).

Chapter VI: The Coming of the Spaniards

Several volumes on the history of the Navajos contain good sections on the Spanish period. Among them are Robert W. Young, *The Role of the Navajos in the Southwestern Drama* (Gallup, New Mexico: Gallup Independent, 1968), Ruth M. Underhill, *The Navajos* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), and John Upton Terrell, *The Navajos: The Past and Present of a Great People* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

Among the best works on Spanish relations with the Indians of New Mexico are Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), Oakah L. Jones, *Pueblo Warriors and Spanish Conquest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), and S. Lyman Tyler, "Before Escalante: An Early History of the Yuta Indians and the Area North of New Mexico," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah, 1951).

Several articles in the *New Mexico Historical Review* are valuable sources for the Spanish period. Three by Frank D. Reeve are particularly useful, "Seventeenth Century Navaho-Spanish Relations," vol. 32 (January 1957), "Navaho-Spanish Wars, 1680-1720," vol. 33 (July 1958), and "The Navaho-Spanish Peace: 1720s-1770s," vol. 34 (January 1959). Other important articles in this journal include Donald E. Worcester, "The Navaho during the Spanish Regime in New Mexico," vol. 26 (April 1951), France V. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," vol. 10 (April 1935), and France V. Scholes, "Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670," vol. 12 (April 1937).

A good description of the evolution of Navajo culture after the Spanish conquest can be found in James J. Hester, "An Ethnohistoric Reconstruction of Navajo Culture, 1582-1824," *El Palacio* 69 (Fall 1962). Ralph Linton, "Nomad Raids and Fortified Pueblos," *American Antiquity* 10 (July 1944), contains important implications for understanding early Navajo-Pueblo relations.

Documents relative to Spanish New Mexico are located in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, New Mexico State Record Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico (microfilm copy, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah), and J. Lee Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes: A Contribution to Navajo History* (Window Rock, Arizona: Navajo Heritage Center, 1976).

Information on early Navajo occupation of the northern and western portions of Navajoland can be found in J. Lee Correll, "Navajo Frontiers in Utah and Troublous Times in Monument Valley," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971). David M. Brugge, "Navajo Use and Occupation

of Lands North of the San Juan River in Present-Day Utah to 1935," unpublished MSS, Navajo Tribal Museum, Window Rock, Arizona; and M. A. Stokes and T. L. Smiley, "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim: I. The Northern Sector," and "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim: II. The Western Sector," *Tree-Ring Bulletin* 25 and 26 (June 1963 and June 1964).

Chapter VII: The Fearing

Much of the material mentioned in the preceding essay is also helpful for understanding the late Spanish and Mexican period of Navajo history. Two other articles add valuable information about the later years of Spanish rule: Frank D. Reeve, "Navaho-Spanish Diplomacy, 1770-1790," *New Mexico Historical Review* 35 (July 1960), and Joseph F. Park, "Spanish Indian Policy in Northern Mexico, 1765-1810," *Arizona and the West* 4 (Winter 1963).

There are fewer works on the early nineteenth century than on other periods of Navajo history, but good information can be found in the secondary works cited in the last essay. Two small volumes published by the Navajo Tribe are also worthwhile—David M. Brugge, *Long Ago in Navajoland*, Navajoland Publications, No. 6 (July 1965); and J. Lee Correll, *The Story of the Navajo Treaties* (Window Rock, Arizona: Navajo Tribe, 1971). Primary source material can be found in the places cited in the last essay.

In addition to those already cited, the following sources contain material about northern Navajos: Mary Shepardson and Blodwen Hammond, *The Navajo Mountain Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), the Duke American Indian Oral History Project, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah; and *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period* (Tsaile, Arizona: Navajo Community College Press, 1973).

Chapter VIII: The Coming of the Whitemen

The twenty years of warfare following the United States' conquest of New Mexico is the most written-about era in Navajo history. The best secondary works on this period are L. R. Bailey, *The Long Walk* (Los Angeles: Western-Lore Press, 1964); Frank McNitt, *The Navajo Wars: Military Campaigns, Slave Raids, and Reprisals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972); W. A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico, 1846-1868* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1951); and two articles by Frank D. Reeve, "The Government and the Navajo, 1846-1858," *New Mexico Historical Review* 14 (1939), and "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," *New Mexico Historical Review* 12 (1937).

Printed congressional documents found in the government serial set provide a wealth of primary source material on initial United States–Navajo relations. The most dependable sources of information are the *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* and the *Annual Reports of the Secretary of War*. Several other valuable collections of primary material have been published. J. Lee Correll, *Through White Men's Eyes: A Contribution to Navajo History* (Window Rock, Arizona: Navajo Heritage Center, 1976), contains a comprehensive synopsis of documentary information on the Navajos. David M. Brugge and J. Lee Correll, *The Story of the Navajo Treaties* (Window Rock, Arizona: Navajo Tribe, 1971), gives the texts of the many treaties negotiated with the Navajo nation. An excellent collection of oral tradition can be found in *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period* (Tsaile, Arizona: Navajo Community College Press, 1973).

A number of journals, letters, and reports written by Americans who had dealings with the Navajos have been published. The most important volume is Annie Heloise Abel, ed., *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun while Indian Agent at Santa Fe and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico*, Office of Indian Affairs (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915).

Works which provide information on the northern frontiers of Navajoland during the early American period are David M. Brugge, "Navajo Use and Occupation of Lands North of the San Juan River in Present-Day Utah to 1935," unpublished MSS, Navajo Tribal Museum, Window Rock, Arizona; J. Lee Correll, "Navajo Frontiers in Utah and Troublous Times in Monument Valley," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971); Mary Shepardson and Blodwen Hammond, *The Navajo Mountain Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); and the Duke American Indian Oral History Project, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Chapter IX: The Long Walk and Peace

Lawrence Kelly, *Navajo Roundup: Selected Correspondence of Kit Carson's Expedition Against the Navajo, 1863-1865* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1970), is a particularly valuable study of the Long Walk period. Gerald E. Thompson, *The Army and the Navajo: The Bosque Redondo Reservation Experiment* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), is also good, as is *The Long Walk: A History of the Navajo Wars, 1846-1868* (Los Angeles: Western-Lore Press, 1964) by Lynn R. Bailey.

Frank D Reeve has written helpful articles for volumes 12 and 13 of the *New Mexico Historical Review* The surveys by Underhill, Young, and Terrell cited in Chapter 6, above, also provide good general discussions of this later period.

Also see Gerald E Thompson, "To the People of New Mexico General Carleton Defends the Bosque Redondo," *Arizona and the West* (Winter 1972), and two publications of the Navajo Tribe. Martin Link, *Hwelte* (1971), and David M. Brugge and J. Lee Correll, *The Story of the Navajo Treaties* (1971)

Documentary sources include the *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* and another set of printed congressional documents, the *Records of the War of the Rebellion*. Unpublished documents can be found at the National Archives, Washington, D.C., Natural Resources Branch, Record Group 75.

Oral history for this period was taken from *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period* (Tsaile, Arizona Navajo Community College Press, 1973). Virginia Hoffman and Broderick H. Johnson, *Navajo Biographies* (Rough Rock, Arizona, Rough Rock Demonstration School, 1970), and the Duke American Indian Oral History Project, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah (particularly number 661, Charlie Begay, Kayenta, Arizona, interviewed by A. Williams, and number 769, Tom Lefty Navajo Mountain, Utah, interviewed by David M. Brugge and Paul H. Talker).

Valuable sources for northern Navajo material are Charles Kelly, "Chief Hoskaninni," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 21 (July 1953), J. Lee Correll, "Navajo Frontiers in Utah and Troublous Times in Monument Valley," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (Spring 1971), and Left Handed, *Son of Old Man Hat*, as told to Walter Dyk (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966).

Chapter X: Navajo Country Reborn

In addition to the works by Underhill, Terrell, and Young cited above, see James F. Downs, *The Navajo* (N Y Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1972), and Henry F. Dobyns and Robert C. Euler, *The Navajo People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1972).

Information on Utah Navajos can be found in David M. Brugge, "Navajo Use and Occupation of Lands North of the San Juan River in Present Day Utah," unpublished MSS, Navajo Tribal Museum, Window Rock, Arizona, Joseph G Colgan, "Utah School Section Study," unpublished MSS, Navajo Tribal Museum, Window Rock, Arizona, Richard Van Valkenburgh, "Blood Revenge of the Navajo," *Desert Magazine* (October 1943), J. Lee Correll, *Bai-a-lil-le, Medicine Man – or Witch?* (Window Rock, Arizona, Navajo Tribe, 1970), and the two *Utah Historical Quarterly* articles cited in the preceding essay.

Documents, once again, can be found in the *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* and the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Chapter XI: The Navajo as a Nation

The Underhill, Terrell, Young, Downs, and Dobyns volumes cited in the previous two essays provide general material for this period as well. John Collier tells his story in "The Navajos," *From Every Zenith* (Denver Sage Books, 1963). Lawrence Kelly presents another impressive analysis in *The Navajo Indians and Federal Indian Policy, 1900-1935* (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1968). Also see David M Brugge, "Navajo Land Use, A Study in Progressive Diversification," in Clark S. Knowlton, ed., *Indian and Spanish American Adjustments to Arid and Semiarid Environments* (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Technical College, 1964).

Oral history and Utah information came from *Navajo Livestock Reduction, A National Disgrace*, compiled by Ruth Roessel and Broderick H Johnson (Tsaile, Arizona, Navajo Community College Press, 1974), as well as Brugge, "Navajo Use and Occupation," and Correll, *Bai-a-lil-le, Medicine Man or Witch?* The government's version of the Ba'ildhi incident is presented in Senate Executive Document 517, "Report on Employment of United States Soldiers in Arresting Bi-a-lil-le and other Navajo Indians," (60th Congress, 1st session), and the 1908 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*.

Finally, anyone wishing to study Navajo history or culture at any length should consult two good bibliographies Peter Iverson, *The Navajos, A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1976), and J. Lee Correll, Editha L. Watson, and David M. Brugge, *Navajo Bibliography with Subject Index* (Window Rock, Arizona, Navajo Tribe, 1969), and Supplement No. 1 (1973).